THE

HISTORY

OF THE

CIVIL WARS

BETWEEN

YORK AND LANCASTER:

Comprehending the Lives

OF

EDWARD IV. and his brother RICHARD III.

Illuſtrated with Notes, and Copper Plates:

The former part written by the late

EDWARD SPELMAN Esq;

And the latter, with Notes, by

The Rev. GEORGE WILLIAM LEMON,

Rector of GEYTON THORPE, and Vicar of EAST WALTON,

NORFOLK.

Illæ autem paribus quas fulgere cernis in armis,
Concordes animæ nunc, et dum nocte premuntur;
Heu! Quantum inter ſe Bellum, ſi lumina vitæ
Attigerint! Quantas acies, ſtragemque ciebunt! ---
Ne, pueri, ne tanta animis aſſueſcite Bella!
Neu patriæ validas in viſcera vertite vires!

Æn. VI. 826.

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INTRODUCTION.

MY worthy friend and patron, the late Mr. *Spelman*, ſome time before he died, put into my hands the fragment of a work, which he intended to have finiſhed, if a larger deſign had not intervened; I mean his tranſlation of *the Roman Antiquities of Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus*

Halicarnaſſus; which employed him for the remainder of his days.

The few unfiniſhed ſheets he gave me, were entitled *The Life of Edward the Fourth*; beginning with the year 1450, when Richard duke of York, father to king Edward the Fourth, firſt laid claim, though as yet not openly, to the crown: and ending with king Edward's embarking with his brother Richard, duke of Gloceſter, at LYNN in NORFOLK, in 1470: a ſpace of only *Twenty Years*: But there ſtill remained *Thirteen* more, to have completed king Edward's

ward's Life; and even then the Hiſtory of the Civil Wars, between the two Houſes of York and Lancaſter, would have been incomplete: I have therefore preſumed to carry on the relation of thoſe Wars, to the death of Richard the Third, who was killed at the battle of Boſworth, on the 22d. of Auguſt, 1485; which battle was the *Thirteenth*, and Laſt, that was fought in that unhappy Conteſt; and conſequently cloſes the full account of thoſe Civil Wars; which form one of the longeſt, if not the moſt active, periods in our Engliſh Hiſtory, comprehending at

leaſt *Thirty Five years:* In order to render this Period full and intire, I have been ſupported by the authorities of our beſt writers; and corroborated all by the *Acta Regia* in the Tower.

EAST WALTON,
Feb. 2. 1792.

THE PREFACE.

HISTORY, ſays a late noble writer, is Philoſophy, teaching by example;—ſo it undoubtedly is, when written with truth, and fidelity; for then it becomes the ſacred repoſitory of Facts, which, if Good, are delivered down to poſterity for their imitation and example; and if Bad, for their deteſtation, and horror.

This is the noble uſe both of Writing, and of Reading Hiſtory: but, when the authors, and writers of paſt tranſactions ſet themſelves

down to misrepresent the Good, and justify the Bad; when they extenuate crimes, and disguise the truth, they become, not the writers of History; but are only the authors of legends, and the fathers, or propagators of falsehood.

"And here let me lament, says Mr. *Walpole*, in his *Historic Doubts*, p. 63. that two of the greatest men in our annals have prostituted their admirable pens; the one (Sir *Tho. More*) to blacken a great prince; (Richard III.) and the other, (lord Bacon,) to varnish a pitiful tyrant; (Henry VII.) nay, it is unfortunate that another great chancellor (lord Clarendon,) should have written a History, with the same propensity

to

to misrepresentation: It is to be hoped, no more chancellors will write our History; till they can divest themselves of that habit of their profession, apologizing for a bad cause."

It is possible indeed, that the best of men may be misled; but then they will never zealously endeavour to mislead; and yet there have been examples, as above, even in our best Historians, of great partiality and bias: But, what then? because History has, in too many instances, been warped, and turned awry, is there therefore no such thing as true History? and because some facts have been misrepresented, are we therefore to suppose, that they

they were never tranſacted at all? no; that would be to deſtroy all Hiſtory at once; and render uſeleſs one of the nobleſt branches of Human Science, the knowledge of what was done in former times.

We muſt grant indeed, that the Hiſtory of former times is dark, and myſterious, involved too often in Fable, and Fiction: But ſtill we muſt not therefore indiſcriminately condemn all antient Hiſtory, as falſe, and fabulous, and grounded on no authority.

Whenever then we find the accounts of Hiſtorians, whether antient, or modern, claſhing and interfering with each other, prudence will

will direct our choice, and lead us to give credit to that account, which is ſupported by the beſt authority: though indeed it muſt be owned, that Facts will always ſpeak louder, than the greateſt authorities, that can be produced.

The Hiſtory of our own Nation, particularly of the earlier times, is undoubtedly involved, like that of all others, in this obſcurity: Neither is there much dependence to be placed on the authority of even ſome of our later writers; till the time of the revival of letters, about the beginning of the Sixteenth century: but it happens rather unfortunately, that the period, which contains the tranſactions of the following

following pages, does not fall within that compaſs: Before that happy period, and indeed ſome time after it, the only writers of our Hiſtories, if they may be properly called by that name, were monks, and eccleſiaſtical bigots; who wrote juſt as their zeal, or intereſt dictated; and we find that they wrote accordingly; that is, they often committed ſuch falſities, and forgeries, as have deſervedly condemned both them, and their writings, to perpetual oblivion: for who can bear to read a Hiſtory, written in rhime; that is, in Monkiſh jingle?

We cannot ſuppoſe, that the firſt writers of our Engliſh Hiſtories, ſuch as they are come down to us, were

were much acquainted with what was done almoſt within their own view: they related what they had heard from the traditions of others; and they related it in their own way: they could ſcarce be informed in their cells of the real motives of their princes' conduct; they never concerned themſelves with the cauſes of events; it was enough for them to ſay what thoſe events were; and to give a faint repreſentation of them; but ſcarce will they tell us, when they happened; they write on, without any regard to time: But they ought to have been told, that Facts without Dates, are but poor information.

That

That this is the real ſtate of things, any perſon, who has been in the leaſt converſant with the works of our early writers, can abundantly teſtify.

There is not any period in the former part of the Engliſh Hiſtory, that deſerves our attention more, than that, which is contained in the reigns of Edward IV. and his brother Richard III. a period which comprehends about five and twenty years; and is filled with as much buſtle and action, as much hurry and confuſion, and in which occur far more Romantic ſcenes of Love and Intrigue, of Treachery and Deceit, than are to be found in any other Hiſtory whatever.

Still

Still it muſt be confeſſed, that the diſturbances and confuſions, which were but the natural conſequences of that long and bloody conteſt, between the Two houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, have been the chief cauſe of all that ambiguity and obſcurity, which has been ſpread over the annals of thoſe times: ſo that it is ſcarce in the power of modern induſtry to overcome all the difficulties, and get rid of all the rubbiſh intirely.

The reign of Edward IV. indeed affords but few authentic Records for an Hiſtorian to work upon: and yet the incidents of his reign are more lively, and more entertaining, than thoſe of all the preceeding reigns put together.

But

But if the reign of Edward the Fourth be entertaining, what are we to ſay to that of his brother Richard the Third? Here we are at a loſs what to ſay, what to think; how to judge, how to act; the account of different authors being ſo various: This however muſt be obſerved, that though the generality of writers have deſcribed Richard the Third as an angel of darkneſs; yet ſome few others have at leaſt endeavoured to enrobe him as an angel of light: among theſe latter, is the gentleman above quoted; whoſe learned and polite pen is an ornament to the literary world; and whoſe entertaining works will be read, as long as a taſte for refined writing ſhall remain among us: this gentleman, in his

his *Hiſtoric Doubts*, has vindicated the character of Richard the Third from many aſperſions, which had been thrown upon it by former writers; and he has done it ſatisfactorily in many inſtances.

He obſerves then, in page 3. that there are no leſs than ſeven ſuppoſed crimes, attributed to Richard III.

I. His murder of Edward, prince of Wales, ſon of Henry VI.

II. His murder of Henry VI.

III. The murder of his own brother, George, duke of Clarence.

IV. The execution of Rivers, Gray, and Vaughan.

V. The execution of lord Haſtings.

VI. The murder of Edward V. and his brother Richard, duke of York.

And VII. The murder of his own Queen.

To which may be added the following Fourteen peccadillos:

VIII. The artful manner of his behaviour to the queen, both before, and after his brother's death.

IX. The artful manner of his getting poſſeſſion of the young king's perſon.

X. The artful manner of his trepanning Rivers, Gray, and Vaughan.

XI. The artful manner of his conducting the king to London.

XII. The artful manner of his getting the duke of York into his power.

XIII. The artful manner of his deferring the coronation of his nephew.

XIV. The artful manner of his illegitimizing his own brothers.

XV. The artful manner of his apologizing for Haſting's murder.

XVI. The artful manner of his illegitimizing his own nephews.

XVII. The

XVII. The artful manner of his gaining the crown for himſelf.

XVIII. The artful manner of his accepting it.

XIX. The artful manner of his marrying Anne Neville, the widow of his enemy.

XX. The artful manner of his inveigling the queen dowager to his court.

And XXI. The artful manner of his addreſſing his own niece in marriage.

All theſe were ſo many ſteps, by which he aſcended the throne.

Of the ſecond, and laſt, crimes he ought moſt probably to be acquitted: not but that the laſt, the death of his queen, is rather ſuſpicious; it happening at ſuch a critical juncture: ſhe might be, and no doubt had been, in a declining ſtate for ſome time; but might not that

decline have been owing to ſome fore-going mal-practices? it might, or it might not; and therefore, all that can be ſaid for it is, that ſhe died very conveniently.

With regard to the murder of Edward prince of Wales, ſon of Henry VI. if Richard was then in preſence, and undoubtedly he was, we can hardly ſuppoſe, that he would ſtand by, as an unconcerned ſpectator, while all the reſt were dabbling with their daggers: for that the young prince was murdered, there can be no doubt.

As for the murder of Henry VI. it is very uncertain, whether he was murdered at all: it is more probable, that

that he died of a broken heart; after having heard the dreadful conſequences of the battle of Tewkeſbury, in which his army was defeated; his queen taken priſoner; and his young ſon murdered, as above.

The next charge in the order of time, it is to be feared, he will not ſo eaſily eſcape: though we cannot imagine, that Richard was the actual perpetrator of his brother Clarence's murder; yet, it is moſt probable, that he was the firſt inſtigator, and promoter of that vile act; though indeed Clarence is always repreſented as a weak, volatile, injudicious, and ambitious young prince; and his behaviour to Warwick was certainly very unjuſtifiable:

yet ſtill, all this does not prove, that he deſerved to be murdered; and murdered by ſuch hands: for let whoever will have been the author, and immediate cauſe of his death, it is certain that Richard was the author, and immediate cauſe of his brother Edward's anger againſt him; and conſequently Richard was as much guilty of Clarence's death, as if he had held him down, while he was ſuffocating in the butt of Sack, or drew the fatal cord himſelf.

Mr. *Walpole* in p. 13. note, in order to exculpate Richard from this act, ſays, "On ſuch occaſions do arbitrary princes want tools? was Edward's court ſo virtuous, or ſo humane, that it could furniſh no aſſaſſin, but the firſt prince of the blood? when the houſe

houſe of commons undertook to colour the king's reſentment, was every member of it too ſcrupulous to lend his hand to the deed? "—all this is very true; but ſtill, was Richard no ways inſtrumental to his brother's death? was he no promoter, no inſtigator of that vile act? Had he uſed no means to accompliſh Clarence's ruin? — if he had, then he muſt have had a hand in his murder: and, if he had a hand in his murder, he was GUILTY.

Neither does that evidence amount to any thing, on which the above mentioned gentleman thinks, Richard muſt be acquitted, and indeed even of having contributed to his death, viz. the teſtimony of Edward

himſelf: being ſome time afterward ſollicited to pardon a notorious criminal, the king's conſcience broke forth; "unhappy brother, cried he, for whom no man would intercede; —yet, ye all can be interceſſors for a villain:" if Richard had been inſtigator, or executioner, it is not likely that the king would have aſſumed the whole mercileſs criminality to himſelf; without beſtowing a due ſhare on his brother Gloceſter: Is it poſſible to renew the charge, and not recollect this acquittal!"—This is no acquittal of Richard; it amounts to no more, than a compunction of the king's own conſcience, for his having been concerned in that murder.

The

The execution of Rivers, Gray, and Vaughan, muſt undoubtedly be attributed to him, and his confederates.

So likewiſe muſt the haſty and rapid execution of lord Haſtings.

But, for the murder of the young princes in the Tower, there is not a more dark and intricate point in all Hiſtory: for, is it not moſt aſtoniſhingly ſtrange, that, after Richard had acknowledged prince Edward as his ſovereign; after he had made ſuch mighty preparations for his coronation; after he had accepted of the Protectorate; and after he had been appointed Regent of the kingdom, during the minority

rity of the king: is it not, I ſay, moſt aſtoniſhingly ſtrange, that Richard ſhould, all on a ſudden, find out, that he himſelf was the only legitimate prince, who had a right to the crown? Then ſo let it be; and let the day of his coronation be fixed; let the account of Peter Courteys in his Wardrobe entries be admitted; and let it be ſuppoſed, that accordingly prince Edward, either did walk, or that, it was intended he ſhould walk, at his uncle's coronation; an idea, which human nature revolts at; — yet ſtill, I ſay, is it not moſt aſtoniſhingly ſtrange, that he ſhould never be heard of more?

If

If he were dead indeed, he could ſay nothing: but if he were alive to the time of Henry VII. is it not as aſtoniſhingly ſtrange, that he ſhould never have opened his lips to any one perſon; nor, if he had been conveyed away, write to any one perſon, (for we muſt ſuppoſe that his majeſty could write) in all that time? for he was thirteen years old in April 1483! And that his brother Richard, who is ſuppoſed to have eſcaped from the Tower, and to have been alive in the year 1495, conſequently Twenty-one years of age, ſhould not in all that time, I mean from the time of his impriſonment, to the time of his re-appearance, which is at leaſt Twelve years, that he ſhould not in all that time

time have found one favourable opportunity of holding ſome communication and correſpondence with his relations and friends in England; if it were only for the ſatisfaction of letting them know, that he was alive; particularly when he muſt have been told, that his mother and ſiſters had been ſo handſomely received at Richard's court.

Perhaps it may be aſked, to whom ſhould he write?—to his mother, ſiſters, relations, friends, connexions, to any body:--they could not all have been dead, they could not all have been murdered; and not one left; to whom this laſt young prince in particular, could have communicated the place of his reſidence, and the

the real condition of his preſent circumſtances:—But indeed the tranſactions and adventures of Perkin Warbeck, whether he were the real duke of York, or not, do more properly belong to the reign of Henry VII. and conſequently are a narration, that would carry us beyond the period we are at preſent engaged in.

As to the time, when the young princes are ſuppoſed to have been murdered, it appears from the confeſſion of one of the aſſaſſins, that they were put to death ſome time in the month of July:—perhaps ſhortly after Richard's firſt, and certainly before his ſecond, coronation.

There

There muſt have been ſomething moſt cruelly ſavage in the diſpoſition of this man; for, not content with having ſeized the crown; not content with having deprived his nephews of life, to the elder of whom that crown belonged, but he muſt proceed to baſtardize their memories, in that very parliament, which met in the November following.

How exactly he times every thing? while his brother king Edward is living, Richard is all obſequiouſneſs to the queen; he carries every thing ſmooth and fair both with her, and her relations; but he muſt have known, even then, if he knew any thing at all, (and this we are ſure of, that Richard was no fool, he was

was only a moſt accompliſhed diſſembler, and muſt have known) that his nephews were as much illegitimate in their father's life time, as they were, or could be, after his demiſe: he took care therefore that Edward ſhould be dead, before he dared to broach this infamous affair.

Beſides; let us only obſerve another part of his conduct in regard to this tranſaction, which is in direct contradiction to this illegitimizing ſcheme: what could have induced him to take upon himſelf, or even accept of, the regency, and protectorſhip? he was to be regent, and protector to whom?—to a baſe born child! but why was not this infamous project ſet up, I ſay, in the time of Edward

Edward IV? why muſt we remain ignorant, and know nothing of his pre-contract, and pre-marriage with the lady Eleanor Butler, till ſix months after king Edward's death? thoſe, who were in poſſeſſion of the ſecret of that lady's marriage with Edward, I mean among others, the biſhop of Bath, who had married him it ſeems to an Engliſh lady, might, if they had been properly called upon, have declared it, long before now: for Edward had been married to the lady Gray, at leaſt eighteen years; and yet all is huſh and quiet: but the moment Edward is dead, lo! then his children are unlawful! The moment Edward is dead, Richard acknowledges his nephew for his ſovereign; and

acts

acts as his Regent and Protector; but the moment he has got both him and his younger brother into his cuſtody, and has lodged them both ſafe in the Tower, lo then! they are a couple of baſtards! Oh, Richard! for ſhame! for ſhame!

The grounds upon which he proceeded in this infamous *Illegitimation Act*, will be more fully conſidered in the work itſelf: In the mean time, it is eaſy to ſee through the whole tenor of his conduct; and that from beginning to end of his ſhort reign, he acted with the utmoſt art, and diſſimulation; as we ſhall abundantly find in the following pages.

It may perhaps be ſaid, that at this diſtant period of time, (for the

tranſactions we are going to conſider, were in agitation above three hundred years ago,) at this diſtant period of time, it may be ſaid, that it is a point of no great moment, or concern, whether Richard were a good, or a bad prince; whether he were a little, ugly, deformed monſter; or an active, lively, handſome young man:—all this is very true; but it certainly is a point of very great moment, and concern, to correct the errors, and rectify the miſtakes of former hiſtorians; and endeavour to ſet both future readers, and future author's right; eſpecially when any new facts, or teſtimonies ariſe; let then his actions ſpeak for themſelves; and they will always ſpeak louder, and fairer, than partiality

tiality and prejudice can poſſibly miſ-repreſent: Time has meliorated and rectified the opinions of mankind: intereſt and power cannot any longer interfere with judgement; and ſentence may now be pronounced very nearly according to truth.

THE

THE LIFE OF EDWARD IV.

CHAP. I.

THE CLAIM OF THE DUKE OF YORK.

THE hiſtory of all ages, and of all nations, teaches us, that thoſe times, which are the happieſt to live in, that is, the quieteſt, afford the feweſt materials for an hiſtorian, and the leaſt entertainment for the reader: while on the contrary, wars, battles, ſieges, and the other great ſcenes, which are the uſual productions of tempeſtuous ſeaſons, however afflicting they muſt have been to the generations that were actors in them, are read with attention and admiration by poſterity.

It is for this reaſon, that the Expedition of Xerxes into Greece, though attended with the deſolation of the country, the ſlaughter of its inhabitants, and the deſtruction of Athens itſelf, is the moſt ſhining, becauſe the moſt active, part of the Greek Hiſtory; as the Second Punic war, though it brought Hannibal to the very gates of Rome, and coſt her as many, if not more, men than the conqueſt of the world, is of that of the Romans.

The reigns of Edward IV. and his brother Richard III. of England, are unfortunately but too fruitful in battles, deſolation, and all the havoc of the worſt of wars, I mean, a civil, or domeſtic one: however, the relation of theſe melancholy events may have the ſame effect with the celebrated deſcription of the Plague at Athens; and were they but as well related, may enable poſterity to prevent, or avoid the like calamities: Let me not, however be thought ſo unjuſt, as to aſcribe the miſeries of the nation, during theſe civil commotions, to the fault of the people, who lived in thoſe times; they were the victims, not the authors, of them; the authors were, and could be, only thoſe, who were at the head of affairs: The people are like the

the Sea, which in its own nature is beneficent and calm; but when jarring winds ariſe, and break its native reſt with tempeſts not its own, if they are violent, that partakes of their violence, and if moderate, of their moderation: ſuch likewiſe is the natural diſpoſition of the commons; their motions are regulated by the temper of their leaders, and they are too often made the unhappy inſtruments of the paſſions of their ſuperiors; and are guilty of no other crime than Credulity; while all the dreadful conſequences of a civil war muſt ever be placed to the account of the deceivers, not of the deceived.

As the conteſted right of the two houſes of York and Lancaſter to the crown of England, was the cauſe, or at leaſt, the apparent occaſion, of the civil wars, that make ſo conſpicuous a part of the Lives of Edward IV. and Richard III. it will be neceſſary to lay before the reader a ſtate of their reſpective claims; that he may be able to form a clear idea of the grounds of their quarrel.

That truly great and magnanimous prince, Edward III. the very mention of whoſe name alone is a ſufficient praiſe to his memory, had

by his queen Philippa, daughter of William count of Hainault, ſeven ſons, and five daughters; of the ſons, the eldeſt was Edward prince of Wales, commonly known by the name of the Black prince: the ſecond, was William of Hatfield, who died young: the third, was Lionel duke of Clarence: the fourth, was John of Ghent, duke of Lancaſter: the fifth, was Edmund of Langley, duke of York: the ſixth, was William of Windſor; and the ſeventh, Thomas of Woodſtock, duke of Gloceſter: From whence it ſhould ſeem, that the houſe of Lancaſter ought to have had a prior claim: but the iſſue of the firſt ſon becoming extinct in the perſon of his ſon, Richard II. who left no child; and the ſecond ſon dying likewiſe when young, the third left an only daughter, named Philippa, after her grand-mother, and married to Edmund Mortimer, earl of Marche; one of whoſe deſcendents, being a female likewiſe, and named Anne, married Richard earl of Cambridge, ſecond ſon of Edmund Langley, duke of York: So that by this marriage, the family of York, who was the fifth ſon, united to Lionel duke of Clarence, the third ſon; and conſequently claims a right before the

the deſcendents of John of Ghent, who was the fourth ſon: But the poſterity of this fourth ſon, in a direct line, did wear the crown for three ſucceſſive generations; viz. Henry IV. Henry V. and Henry VI.

Henry the Fourth, while only duke of Hereford, was baniſhed the realm by Richard the Second: during his exile, his father, John of Ghent died; the duke, under pretence of getting poſſeſſion of his eſtate, returned to England; and not only recovered his eſtate, but in time depoſed Richard himſelf; who ſhortly after died, without leaving any children: But Richard, before he was depoſed, having no children, had by the advice of his council declared Roger Mortimer, earl of Marche, (as the only ſurviving branch of Lionel, duke of Clarence, by his daughter Philippa, married to Edmund his father) heir apparent to the crown: This Roger Mortimer, the declared heir, left two children, Anne, and Edmund: the daughter, commonly known in Hiſtory by the name of Anne Mortimer, married, as we obſerved before, Richard, earl of Cambridge, who in the time of Henry V. was beheaded at Southampton, for conſpiring

ſpiring againſt that king; that is, for aſſerting his own right, derived to him from his wife's father, the declared heir: But Henry the Fifth was in poſſeſſion of the crown; and conſequently every attempt to diſpoſſeſs him, was deemed high treaſon; and Cambridge loſt his life, for not being ſtrong enough to ſupport his own right.

This Richard, earl of Cambridge, left by Anne Mortimer his wife, one ſon, who being reſtored to his honour and eſtate, was afterwards made duke of York; and upon the death of the duke of Bedford, was declared regent of France, during the minority of Henry VI. So that here we ſee the heir of the York family acting in a ſubordinate ſtate to that of Lancaſter; however, even in this ſtate, he at length found friends enough to ſupport his cauſe: If the order of lineal deſcent had been violated by the acceſſion of Henry IV. the nation now began to think, that for the ſake of the public good, having been thus long harraſſed by the weak reign of Henry the Sixth, they would be fully juſtified, in reſtoring the lawful heir to the crown.

From

From this ſhort deduction of the rights of both houſes, it is plain, that the whole ſtreſs of the queſtion lies in this ſingle point, whether the male deſcendents by an only daughter of an elder ſon, ſhould inherit the crown before the male deſcendents directly of a younger ſon: but this point had been already fully determined by the king himſelf, I mean Richard II. who, as we have already obſerved above, by the advice of his council, declared Roger Mortimer heir apparent to the crown; ſo that the hereditary right was by the Law of England veſted in the houſe of York, though younger brother to Lancaſter; for Richard, earl of Cambridge, ſecond ſon of York (his elder brother Edmund having been killed at the battle of Agincourt, and leaving no iſſue) this Richard, the ſecond ſon, had married into the family of Lionel, duke of Clarence, elder brother to John of Ghent. The iſſue of which marriage was this Richard, duke of York, of whom we are now treating.

He was a man of courage and capacity; prudent in his conduct, and gentle in his deportment; and in the right of his father, was firſt prince of the blood; by the junction of the Eſtates of York, Cambridge, Wigmore, Clare, and Ulſter,

Ulſter, he poſſeſſed an immenſe fortune; and by his marriage with Cecilia, daughter of Ralph Neville, earl of Weſtmorland, he had greatly increaſed his intereſt among the nobility: the earls of Saliſbury, and Warwick, the lords Latimer, Falconbridge, and Abergavenny, were all of that name, and the moſt potent barons in the kingdom.

Beſides the family of the Nevilles, the duke of York had many powerful friends among the nobility; Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, ſprung from the Royal blood of France; and Mowbray duke of Norfolk, from his hereditary averſion to the family of Lancaſter, ever ſince the affair of the duel, which was to have been fought at Coventry, between his grandfather Thomas Mowbray, and Henry duke of Hereford, in the time of Richard II. 1398.

Though the Civil War broke out in the latter part of king Henry the Sixth's reign; yet it will be proper to trace the origin of that War up ſomewhat higher: Henry V. in the month of Oct. 1415, won the ever memorable battle of Agincourt: in which battle, Charles duke of Orleans, nephew to Charles VI. king of France, was taken priſoner, and brought to England; where

where he continued for ſeven and twenty years: during which long confinement, great diſſentions aroſe in the Engliſh court; for when nobles are of a proud, inſolent, haughty diſpoſition, a ſtraw, or a feather, is ſufficient to overturn kingdoms. Henry V. dying on the 31ſt. of Auguſt, 1422, had appointed, by his Will, his eldeſt ſurviving brother John, duke of Bedford, regent of France; and his next brother Humphry, duke of Gloceſter, protector of England: Henry Beaufort, cardinal, and biſhop of Wincheſter, great uncle to Henry VI. wanted to raiſe himſelf to the head of adminiſtration; he was a haughty, factious, turbulent prelate, and perpetually quarrelling with the protector, merely to thwart his views, and counteract all his councils: The duke had always declared againſt, and of conſequence the cardinal had always promoted, the releaſe of the duke of Orleans, who had been taken priſoner at the battle of Agincourt in 1415; but was at laſt ranſomed on the 10th of November, 1442.

The releaſe of Orleans was not the only triumph, which the cardinal gained over his antagoniſt; he ſoon ſhewed the ſuperiority of his intereſt on another occaſion of greater importance: The earl of Suffolk, a nobleman, blindly attached

tached to the cardinal's party, was ſent over to France, in the year 1442, to finiſh an affair, which had been in agitation for ſome time, namely, the choice of a queen: The duke of Gloceſter had recommended a daughter of the count d'Armagnac; but had ſhe been a prineeſs of the moſt exalted qualifications, we may be ſure the cardinal would have oppoſed it; and accordingly he and his party caſt their eyes on a far more lovely object, Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Reginer, nominal king of Sicily, deſcended from the count of Anjou, and brother of Charles V. late king of France, who had beſtowed that pompous title upon him, without any real power, or poſſeſſion; and this was thought to be a proper match for the king of England, who at this time happened to be a mild, meek, inoffenſive character; whereas Margaret was of a bold, bluſtering, maſculine diſpoſition, of a handſome perſon, and a lively wit; and conſequently thoſe who could but be admitted of her party, thought they ſhould be able to carry all before them: accordingly propoſals of marriage were made to her, which were readily accepted; and in November 1444, the marriage articles were concluded on at Tours; and not many months after, that is, in the beginning of the year 1445,

the

the new queen, that Atè of deſtruction, arrived in England; every thing had continued quiet at home, I mean as to national affairs, till her unfortunate marriage with Henry, in the 24th year of his age, and the 23d of his reign.

From which time, we ſhall find bickerings and jealouſies continually riſing between the queen, and the family of York; for ſhe had no ſooner ſate foot on Engliſh ground, than ſhe entered into cabals, and formed a cloſe confederacy with cardinal Beaufort, the dukes of Somerſet and Buckingham, the marquis of Suffolk, and the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland: theſe were the principal nobles of her party; but her chief favourite was Henry duke of Somerſet, who bore the chief ſway in the adminiſtration.

As for the unfortunate duke of Gloceſter it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that immediately on the arrival of the queen, his intereſt ſunk at court, and he continued, about two years longer, a mere cypher in the ſtate; and at laſt, when the parliament was ſummoned to meet at St. Edmund's Bury, he was there arreſted on the 24th of Feb. 1447, the very firſt day of their ſeſſion, and committed

committed to cloſe priſon, without ſo much as any domeſtics to attend him; and the next day morning he was found dead in his bed: So unfortunate is it to be related to Courts, and to Cardinals!

As for the perpetrators of this wicked act, moſt of them came to an untimely end; for notwithſtanding that in 1448, the queen created the marquis of Suffolk duke of that name, yet the parliament, aſſembled in 1450, ſent up to the houſe of peers an impeachment of High treaſon againſt him; which was accordingly paſſed, and the duke ſent to the Tower; but the queen, to prevent this matter from being carried too far adjourned the parliament to Leiceſter; and immediately ſet the duke at liberty, and reſtored him to his former ſtation, and dignity; nay ſhe had the inſolence to carry him with her to Lancaſter; which ſo diſguſted the commons, that they preſented an addreſs to the king; deſiring that the duke might be ſent back to the Tower: the queen, foreſeeing it would be impoſſible to ſave him, prevailed on the king to baniſh him the realm, for five years: but as the duke was retiring to France, he was met at ſea by an Engliſh man of war, whoſe captain ſeized him, and ordered

ordered his head to be ſtruck off on the ſide of the long boat, without any farther proceſs.

Meanwhile the duke of York, who was at this time in Ireland, imagining that this diſguſt of the people of England might be converted to his advantage, reſolved to improve this opportunity; but, before he would appear perſonally in ſupport of his pretenſions, he thought it moſt adviſable, to prepare the nation for his deſign, and feel as it were, the pulſes of the people, by exciting their affections for the houſe of Mortimer: With this view he engaged an Iriſhman, named John Cade, who had ſerved under him in France, to raiſe a rebellion in England: This Cade was inſtructed by the duke to perſonate, and take upon him the name and title of Sir John Mortimer, brother to Roger the late earl of March, who had been declared heir to the crown by Richard II. and beheaded in the late reign; that their title, which had lain ſo long dormant, might be revived, and again attract the attention of the public.

Cade, who by his courage and capacity was extremely well qualified for ſuch an undertaking, collected a ſtrong body of mal-contents; not to

vindicate his claim to the crown, but on pretence of redreſſing the grievances of the nation, and delivering the people from the burden of their taxes: and for that reaſon was ſometimes called Captain Mend-all.

He ſoon found himſelf at the head of ſo powerful an army, that he thought he was able to carry his ſcheme into execution; and accordingly advancing towards London, on the 20th of June encamped on Black-heath: The king being apprized of this inſurrection, ſent a meſſage to demand the cauſe of their hoſtile appearance: Cade replied in the name of his followers, that they had no deſign to hurt the perſon of his majeſty; but that their intention was to petition the parliament, that evil miniſters might be removed from their places about his majeſty; and be brought to condign puniſhment; and that the people might be eaſed of thoſe intolerable taxes, with which they were now oppreſſed.

They accordingly preſented two petitions to parliament; repreſenting thoſe grievances, which called ſo loudly for redreſs: and poſitively inſiſting, that the duke of Somerſet ſhould be puniſhed, for the loſs of Normandy; and that the

king's council might be compoſed of the princes of the blood, and other perſons of honour and capacity, and not of worthleſs and wicked wretches, intirely deſtitute of virtue and integrity.

Theſe petitions being imparted to the king, the council condemned them, as arrogant and ſeditious; and reſolved to ſuppreſs the rebellion by force of arms.

Accordingly, Henry, having aſſembled a body of Fifteen thouſand men, advanced at their head towards Black-heath: At his approach, Cade pretended to retreat, as if he had been afraid of a battle; but lay in ambuſh in a wood near Seven-Oaks in Kent; not doubting but that he ſhould be followed by the king's whole army: but Henry imagining they were intirely diſperſed, and gone, returned back again to London; after having detached a ſmall party, in perſuit of the fugitives, under the command of Sir Humphry Stafford; who, falling into the ambuſcade, was put to the ſword, with all his followers.

Cade had no ſooner obtained this advantage, than he directed his march towards London; while the king and council retired haſtily to

Kenelworth caſtle; after having left a ſtrong garriſon in the Tower, under the command of the lord Scales: The citizens of London, alarmed at the ſucceſs of the rebels, opened the gates at their approach; and Cade entered in triumph at the head of his troops; which had been now very greatly augmented ſince his victory.

He had ſtrictly ordered his men, not to be guilty of any outrage, nor give the inhabitants the leaſt cauſe of offence; on pain of the ſevereſt penalties §.

Next day, being the third of July, hearing that the lord treaſurer Say was in the city, he ordered him to be ſeized, and beheaded, without any form of trial; and in the evening retired to the borough of Southwark.

Thus he continued for ſome time, to enter the city in the morning, and leave it at night; that he might not give any umbrage to the inhabitants with whom he lived at firſt upon very good terms: but at length, the rebels having pilla-

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§ It is reported, that in his march through Cannon ſtreet, he ſtruck London-ſtone with his ſword, and exclaimed, Now is Mortimer lord of this city.

ged ſome houſes, and committed other outrages, Cade one morning found the gate of the bridge ſhut, and barricadoed againſt him: and on the 5th of July, attempting to force a paſſage, a deſperate battle enſued, between the citizens and the rebels; both of whom maintained the fight with equal obſtinacy; till night put an end to the conteſt.

The archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the chancellor, who had retired to the Tower, being informed by their emiſſaries, that the inſurgents were greatly diſſpirited at the repulſe, and heartily tired of their rebellious project, drew up a general pardon; confirmed it by the ſanction of the Great Seal; and found means to have it publiſhed by night in the borough, in the midſt of the enemy's quarters.

This expedient was attended with the deſired effect: The rebels, glad of an opportunity to eſcape the puniſhment that was due to their crimes, deſerted in ſuch numbers, that in the morning Cade found himſelf almoſt alone; and was obliged to take ſhelter in the woods of Kent; where, ſoon after, a price of a thouſand marks being ſet on his head, he was diſcovered on the 12th

of July, in a garden at Hothfield in Suſſex; and killed by one Alexander Iden; who for his ſervice was rewarded with the government of Dover caſtle; and one thouſand marks out of the rebel's forfeited eſtates.

Thus this attempt having proved unſucceſsful, though the duke of York had not openly given any countenance to it, yet he was now convinced, he had embarked ſo far, that he muſt either proceed, or for ever relinquiſh all farther expectations of a throne; and having long found it was impracticable to gain his end by gentle means, he aſſembled an army of ten thouſand men; theſe were the ſecond forces that were collected on account of that long and bloody conteſt, which laſted without interruption for upwards of fifty years, between the two houſes of York and Lancaſter.

With theſe forces the duke of York advanced to London, not indeed in a hoſtile manner, but only inſiſted on a reformation of government; and the removal of the duke of Somerſet, the queen's favorite, from all power and authority: A parley enſued, and the duke was perſuaded to viſit king Henry in his tent; he accordingly

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repaired thither, and on renewing his charge againſt Somerſet, he was ſurprized to ſee that miniſter ſtep from behind the curtain, and offer to vindicate his innocence; York, now ſeeing his enemy before his face, whom he thought to have been in ſafe cuſtody, found he was betrayed; and that he was intirely at the mercy of his enemies; he therefore moderated his pretenſions: The king's party, knowing themſelves too weak to offer any violence to his perſon, ſuffered him to depart quietly: on which he retired to his eſtate of Wigmore, on the borders of Wales, and diſmiſſed his followers for this time.

So that the two firſt armies that were raiſed in this conteſt, I mean that of Cade, and this of the duke of York, never came to a pitched battle; but the one was diſperſed, after a ſlight ſkirmiſh, and the other was diſmiſſed without blows.

While things were in this ſituation, Henry's queen, the martial Margaret, on the 12th of October, was delivered of her firſt and only ſon, nine years after their marriage; who was baptized by the name of Edward: This event ſeemed to deſtroy all hopes of the duke of York's ever ſucceeding quietly to the throne; and tended rather to widen, than repair the breach be-

tween the two parties: but the duke was of too mild and gentle a diſpoſition, to perſue violent meaſures, although Henry, beſides his natural debility of mind, was at this time ſeized with a diſorder, which was ſuppoſed to be a conſumption, that endangered his life, and rendered him abſolutely incapable of maintaining even the leaſt appearance of royalty *.

Still the queen, and council were too weak to oppoſe the party of York; and conſequently were obliged to yield to the torrent; they committed Somerſet to the Tower; and on the 3d. of April, conſtituted the duke of York protector of the kingdom, during the king's preſent diſorder, with full power to convoke a parliament: Such was the gentleneſs and moderation of his nature, that he was far from taking any advantage from the circumſtances of the times, or the indiſpoſition of his majeſty; nay he even expreſſed

* In the Acta Regia p. 280, are mentioned Letters Patent, dated April 5, 1454, in favour of prince Edward, the king's ſon, then not quite ſeven months old, to be protector, when he comes of age: Which ſhews, that the king was incapable of government at that time; And that there was no likelihood, that he ever would again be qualified: by conſequence, this muſt have been rather a diſtemper of the mind, than of the body; becauſe otherwiſe ſuch a precaution would have been unneceſſary, twenty years before hand; and ſuppoſes the king would then be living, and incapable, at that diſtant period.

expreſſed a reluctance to receive the powers, which were now thus delegated to him; and begged it might be recorded, that this authority was conferred on him, without any application on his part; and hoped they would aſſiſt him in the diſcharge of ſo important an office.

Such an inſtance of meekneſs, and moderation is ſeldom to be found in the breaſts of thoſe, who have ſo near a proſpect of the throne; and even ſometimes fill it! But all this gentle conduct in York, inſtead of producing happineſs and tranquillity, was really productive of the moſt fatal effects; for it gave time for the ſwelling and accumulating of thoſe bitter waters, that afterwards overwhelmed the kingdom, and bore down all before them; it gave time to his enemies to raiſe the greater oppoſition againſt him.

The king's diſorder however did not continue long; he now began to recover; and on the 25th of February, was perſuaded to reſume the royal authority, and hold once more the reins of government in his own hands, by annulling the regency of the duke of York; to reſtore Somerſet to liberty, and place that nobleman again at the head of affairs: But as the duke of York had received his commiſſion from

the council, he would not reſign it to any, but to them, or with their conſent; he therefore retired once more to his eſtate of Wigmore in Wales; where he levied a numerous army, with which he now intended to give the king, or rather indeed the queen, battle in earneſt.

York was attended by his confederates, the earls of Saliſbury and Warwick; two of the moſt powerful among all the nobility: when they arrived in the neighbourhood of *St. Albans*, they renewed their requeſt, for the removal of evil counſellors from the king: Their requeſt was rejected; and they, in return, were threatened with the pains and penalties of high treaſon.

The earl of Warwick, who commanded the vanguard, was ſo incenſed with this intolerable treatment, that, without waiting for the duke's orders, he charged the king's army on the 31ſt. of May, with ſuch irreſiſtible fury, that it was inſtantly thrown into confuſion; and York, advancing at that very moment, attacked them in flank; which totally and compleatly routed them: The duke of Somerſet, the earl of Northumberland, the earl of Stafford, the lord

1459 Clifford,

Clifford, and many other perſons of diſtinction, with 5600 men, were left dead upon the ſpot; the king himſelf, being wounded in the neck with an arrow, was deſerted by the remainder of his forces, and took refuge in a ſmall houſe, near the field of battle; where he was preſently inveſted: The duke and his aſſociates flew immediately to the place; and falling on their knees before him, declared, that ſince Somerſet, that enemy to the public, was now dead, they were ready to obey his majeſty in all lawful commands: Which token of their obedience was cordially accepted by the king; and they all repaired to London. This was the *firſt battle of St. Albans.*

As ſoon as the parliament met on the 12th of November, they granted a general amneſty, and reſtored the duke of York to the dignity of protector; but renewed their oaths of allegiance to king Henry; and fixed the duration of the protectorſhip to the majority of his ſon Edward, who was now created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Cheſter. The only act of importance, paſſed in this parliament, was a full reſumption of all the alienations of the crown lands, which had been made ſince the firſt year of the king's reign.

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Though the Lancaſtrians affected to acquieſce in theſe meaſures, they carefully watched every opportunity to regain their former power: The queen taking the advantage of York's abſence, produced her huſband before the Houſe of Lords; and as he was in ſome meaſure recovered from his late indiſpoſition, he declared his reſolution to put an end to the protectorſhip of the duke, and take the adminiſtration of affairs once more into his own hands. As this propoſal was altogether unexpected, it met with no oppoſition from the contrary party: the lords, many of whom were diſpleaſed with the late act of reſumption, approved of Henry's intention; and the king was accordingly reſtored to his ſovereign authority.

The duke of York was greatly ſurprized, when he heard of this ſudden revolution; but, as he was always averſe to violent meaſures, he quietly ſubmitted to the decree of the parliament: And had Margaret been ſatisfied with her late ſucceſs, ſhe might perhaps have enjoyed her authority for ſome time; if not to the end of her days in peace and quiet, without any farther diſturbance; but being of a bold, haughty, and turbulent diſpoſition, and puffed up with

this favourable turn of her fortune, ſhe reſolved to enſure her future tranquillity, by arreſting the perſons of York, Saliſbury, and Warwick: with this view, the court was removed to Coventry; where ſhe thought ſhe could execute her purpoſe with greater eaſe, than in London; and theſe three noblemen, were accordingly required, by letters under the privy ſeal, to attend the king, about ſome affairs of importance.

As York had taken no ſteps towards openly avowing his deſign upon the crown, he made no ſcruple to obey the order: and he and his aſſociates ſet out for the place appointed; but while they were on the road, they received intelligence of Margaret's intentions: in conſequence of which, they inſtantly ſeparated; York once more retired to his eſtate in Wales; Saliſbury to Yorkſhire; and Warwick to Calais, of which he was governor.

Notwithſtanding this freſh rupture, ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, at the head of whom was Bourchier, archbiſhop of Canterbury, exerted their efforts to reconcile the contending factions; and their endeavours were in ſome meaſure ſucceſsful; for both parties ſolemnly,

(but what are oaths to parties!) agreed to bury their animoſities in oblivion; and live together in perfect harmony: In order to notify this agreement, the 5th of April † was the day appointed for a public thankſgiving; and a ſolemn proceſſion was made to St. Paul's church; where the king walked firſt, in his robes, with his diadem on his head; after whom the leaders of the different parties in pairs, walking hand in hand, in token of their hearty reconciliation: the duke of York handed the queen, who affected to treat with uncommon eſteem the man, whoſe life ſhe had ſo lately ſought, and whoſe head ſhe will ſo ſoon ſtrike off! But how much ſoever this ſolemn farce, like a calm before an approaching ſtorm, might ſerve to impoſe on common eyes, the more ſenſible part of the nation knew, that the animoſity of the two factions could not be thus eaſily removed: nor was it long, before their conjectures were but too fully verified.

However, by this agreement it was ſtipulated, that the duke of York, the earl of Saliſbury, and his ſon-in-law the earl of Warwick, and ſome others of their friends, ſhould be ad-

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† Stowe ſays, the 25, of March.

mitted into the king's council: But, whether they were afraid to truſt themſelves ſo near the queen, or whatever elſe might be their motive, they determined to retire from court: Before this was effected, an event happened, which accelerated their departure.

The internal rancour, eſpecially on the Lancaſtrian ſide, wanted only a ſpark to kindle it into a blaze: One of the king's ſervants inſulted a domeſtic of the earl of Warwick; others took part in the quarrel; a bloody conteſt enſued; ſome of the earl's followers were killed; and he ſoon found, that this was a ſcheme, formed by the court, to deprive him of life in the ſcuffle; for Henry, at the queen's inſtigation, had that very day iſſued out an order for committing him to the Tower; but he inſtantly withdrew to his government of Calais.

The earl of Saliſbury aſſembled ſome troops, and directed his march towards Herefordſhire; in order to be joined by the duke of York; but he was met on the 23d. of September at *Blackheath* in Staffordſhire, by the lord Audley, with a much ſuperior force: and yet not-

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withſtanding the inequality of numbers, Saliſbury reſolved to attack him; but made a feint, as if he was afraid to engage: Audley, fell into the ſnare, and after a deſperate battle, was intirely defeated; himſelf, and 2,400 men, being left dead on the ſpot.

Saliſbury, having thus opened himſelf a paſſage, marched on to Ludlow; where he was joined by the duke of York, with a numerous army; and this was ſoon after ſtrengthened by a choice body of veterans, whom Warwick brought along with him from Calais, under the command of Sir Andrew Trollop: but this very reinforcement had almoſt proved the ruin of York's party; for when the royal army approached, this treacherous commander, Trollop, deſerted with the whole detachment; this inſtance of baſeneſs ſo intimidated the Yorkiſts, that they diſperſed the next day, without ſtriking a ſtroke. The duke fled now to Ireland; with the young earl of Rutland, his ſecond ſurviving ſon; and Warwick again to Calais: The other noblemen and gentlemen retired to their ſeveral habitations.

The parliament, which met ſoon after, de-

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clared the duke of York and his adherents guilty of high treaſon; and incapable of ſucceeding to any inheritance to the fourth generation; and confiſcated all their eſtates.

The earl however, was ſoon at the head of another ſtrong body of forces; and was reſolved to make one effort more, in ſupport of his favourite cauſe; he embarked in great ſpirits; and landed in Kent, accompanied by his father-in-law, the earl of Saliſbury, and the duke's eldeſt ſon Edward, earl of Marche, now in the eighteenth year of his age; who afterwards came to the crown, by the name, and title of Edward IV.

The court party, naturally ſuppoſing, that the mal-contents would not remain long inactive, determined to weaken their power by removing all thoſe, who were moſt attached to their intereſt: for this purpoſe, the king gave a commiſſion to the earl of Wiltſhire, and the lord Scales, to make a circuit over the whole kingdom; to proſecute all thoſe, who had taken part with the duke of York.

The ſeverity with which theſe commiſſioners acted in ſome places, ſo affrighted the inhabi-

tants of the county of Kent in particular, that they implored the protection of the earls of Saliſbury and Warwick; and invited them to come into their county; promiſing to live and die with them.

As ſoon as Warwick had landed, he was met at Sandwich by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord Cobham, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, at the head of 40,000 men: He then directed his rout towards London; and entered the city amidſt the ſhouts and acclamations of the people: the next day, having reinforced his army with a ſtrong body of Londoners, he determined to march againſt the royaliſts, who were haſtening from Coventry to attack him.

The two parties came in ſight of each other at *Torcheſter* near *Northampton*, on the 10th. of July; the right of the Yorkiſts was commanded by Warwick; the left by lord Cobham; and the center by Edward, the young earl of Marche.

The dukes of Somerſet and Buckingham commanded the royal army; the queen waited

the event of the battle at a ſmall diſtance; and the king remained in his tent.

The leaders of the Yorkiſts had ſtrictly enjoined their men to ſpare the perſon of the king, and common ſoldiers, as much as poſſible; but to give no quarter to the officers: the battle began about two in the afternoon, and was maintained with great violence, till near ſeven in the evening; when the lord Gray of Ruthen, in king Henry's army, deſerted to the adverſe party: which ſtruck ſuch a panic in the royaliſts, that they inſtantly gave way, and were routed with the loſs of 14,000 men; the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewſbury, the lords Beaumont, and Egremond, Sir William Lucy, and many other perſons of diſtinction, were killed; the queen, the prince of Wales, and duke of Somerſet, fled to Durham: but Henry himſelf fell once more into the hands of his enemies, and was immediately conducted to London.

In the mean while, the duke of York returned from Ireland; and repaired directly to the houſe of Peers: he ſtood for ſometime under the canopy, with his hand upon the throne,

expecting that the lords would deſire him to aſcend: but all of them obſerved a moſt profound ſilence: At length he was requeſted by the archbiſhop of Canterbury to withdraw, while the lords ſhould debate upon his title: It was then ſettled, that there ſhould be an intire freedom of ſpeech; and that no member ſhould be accountable: They then entered upon this important argument, which was maintained with great eagerneſs for nine days ſucceſſively: At length they agreed that Henry VI. ſhould enjoy the crown, during his natural life; and that Richard, duke of York, ſhould be declared his ſucceſſor.

This deciſion of the lords muſt have been a great diſappointment to him; for ſo little regard had they paid to his claim of right, and laying his hand on the throne, that we find they forced him to be content, with leaving the crown on the head of Henry VI. during that prince's life; and not to have a proſpect of ſucceeding to it, till after king Henry's death; which was a point of the leſs moment to him, becauſe he was eleven or twelve years, older than the king, and could not hope to be the

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better for it, according to the courſe of nature: He ſubmitted however to all theſe mortifications; and his ſubmiſſion was owing to his great lenity, and moderation.

This act was no ſooner paſſed, than the duke of York obliged the king to ſign an order for the queen to repair to London; well knowing that ſhe would not comply; and in caſe of her refuſal, her huſband would furniſh him with a ſufficient excuſe, for the meaſures he intended to take againſt her.

She had in the mean time been very active; and had already collected an army of eighteen thouſand men: The duke of York was greatly alarmed to hear of her ſucceſs; a circumſtance with which he was intirely unacquainted, when he left London, with only five thouſand men: And when he advanced to *Wakefield* in Yorkſhire, he was informed ſhe was in full march againſt him: What a ſtrange overſight in a general! not to have better intelligence, before he marched out againſt an enemy! Finding himſelf now in an error, he immediately took refuge in his own caſtle of Sandal, by the advice of Saliſbury: The queen preſently came

in view; and employed every means in her power to draw him from his retreat: ſhe pretended to continue her march ſouthward; then having placed an ambuſh, returned ſuddenly to the caſtle, and challenged him to battle, by the moſt inſulting meſſages ſhe could invent: Whether he was really provoked at her reproaches, or whether he was actually ſtraitened for proviſions, which ſeems to have been the more probable reaſon of the two, he at length on the 31ſt. of December, came to the fatal reſolution of giving the queen battle; and accordingly drew out his men: as he approached, the queen ſeemed to retire; and actually retreated ſo far as to the place of ambuſh; when, pretending to give way all at once, ſhe compleatly drew him into the ſnare; then facing about, and the men in ambuſh riſing up at that inſtant, they intirely ſurrounded the duke, and his forces; and notwithſtanding all the bravery he ſhewed, he was defeated, and killed; together with 2200 of his men; his ſecond ſurviving ſon, Edmund Plantagenet, earl of Rutland, a youth then about eighteen years of § age,

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§ Moſt of our hiſtorians have made a great miſtake concerning

was inhumanly maſſacred in cold blood, on *Wakefield* bridge by the lord Clifford, who in revenge for the loſs of his father, killed in the battle of St. Albans, proteſted he would not leave a branch of the York family alive: the earl of Saliſbury being taken priſoner, was the next day beheaded at Pontefract; and both his,

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cerning the age of this young prince, the earl of Rutland, when he was murdered after the battle of Wakefield; they copy after one another; and the errors committed by one, are generally tranſcribed by all the ſubſequent writers: Baker is the firſt author that I have found, but not the laſt, who aſſerts, that the earl of Rutland was but Twelve years old, when he was thus murdered; but if that author be right, who is quoted by Mr Walpole, in p. 105. he muſt have been much older; he has given us the order in which the ducheſs Cicely's children were born, thus; Anne, ducheſs of Exeter; Henry; Edward IV; *Edmund earl of Rutland*; Elizabeth, ducheſs of Suffolk; Margaret, ducheſs of Burgundy; William; John; George, duke of Clarence; Thomas; Richard III; and Urſula: —Now if Edward IV. in 1483, died at the age of 42, he muſt have been born in 1441; and conſequently was 19 years old, at the battle of Wakefield in 1460; and as Rutland was his next brother, according to birth right, he could not be leſs than 17 or 18 years of age, inſtead of *Twelve:* Beſides; can we ſuppoſe, that his father would carry ſuch a child into the field of battle, as a boy of only Twelve years old? but at the age of 17 or 18, we may ſuppoſe he was capable of defending himſelf.

and the duke of York's heads were placed on the walls of York city; but with this ſcornful diſtinction, that Clifford, by the queen's orders, made a paper-crown, and moſt triumphantly placed it on the duke's head, in deriſion of his title: But notwithſtanding all the exultation they might expreſs on this occaſion,

Neſcia mens hominum fati, ſortiſque futuræ
Et ſervare modum; rebus ſublata ſecundis!
Turno *tempus erit, magno cúm optaverit emptum*
Intactum Pallanta; et cúm Spolia iſta, diemque
Oderit!

The mind of man, unknowing of events,
Obſerves no mean; elated with ſucceſs!
Turnus *ſhall rue the hour, when he ſhall wiſh*
That prince's life untouch'd; theſe ſpoils, this day
Shall hate! Æn. X. 501.

For the ſon of this ſo much derided duke will live to daſh the golden crown from off king Henry's head, and place it on his own: but for the preſent, thus fell Richard, duke of York, in the fiftieth year of his age; a prince endowed with many great, and amiable qualities; whoſe errors deſerve more pity, than indignation.

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The queen however was not long ſuffered to enjoy her triumph, and proceed thus haughtily in her victorious career: The battle of *Wakefield*, inſtead of retrieving the ruined affairs of herſelf, and her ſon, ſerved only to haſten their deſtruction; for the young earl of Marche, now Edward, duke of York, was in the nineteenth year of his age, and inſpired with implacable rancour for the cruel treatment, which his father had met with, from the intemperate pride of the queen, who it ſeems had not been content with having killed him in battle, but had thus impotently cauſed his head to be cut off, after he was dead; and cruelly murdered his brother Rutland in cold blood: theſe were ſuch egregious provocations to a prince of his age, that we muſt not wonder if, in any future inſtance, we find him, and his brother Richard, exerting the ſame acts of retaliation on thoſe of their enemies, who fell into their hands.

Such are the dreadful conſequences, that generally attend female cruelty and revenge.

Edward received the afflicting news of theſe diſaſters in Wales, where he had continued his levies with ſo much ſucceſs, that he now found himſelf at the head of twenty-three thouſand

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men, which he had been raiſing, in hopes to have joined his father, before he might be tempted, or ſhould be forced, to hazard a deciſive action. He had intelligence that the queen, after her late victory, was in full march for London: he reſolved to outſtrip her; and if poſſible get thither before her; well knowing of what importance the poſſeſſion of the capital is to the ſubduing, or influencing the minds of the reſt of the nation: Thus the deſign of each party being at one and the ſame object, the ſame meaſures were taken on both ſides, to prevent the other from ſucceeding in it: The earl however happened to be ſomewhat nearer, and was in hopes to have arrived there, without any interruption; but the queen, like an experienced and prudent general, detached Jaſper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, and James Butler, earl of Ormond, to throw an obſtacle in his way, at leaſt to ſtop the rapidity of his march, that ſhe might gain ſome ground upon him: the earl, hearing they were within a day's march, reſolved that this ſhould be no cauſe of delay, nor give him the leaſt interruption; he therefore very judiciouſly marched in order of battle, that he might begin the onſet, the moment he ſaw them: The two armies met accordingly on

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the 2nd. of February, at *Mortimer's Croſs* in Herefordſhire, on Candlemas eve: As Edward had a double advantage, both in numbers, and in point of order, he immediately began the attack, and inſtantly routed them; ſo that this was no impediment to his march; the earls of Pembroke and Ormond found means to eſcape, leaving about two thouſand men on the field; but Owen Tudor, father to the general, and huſband to Katharine, queen dowager of Henry V. according to ſome, but more probably his younger brother, was taken priſoner, with nine other officers, and beheaded at Hereford.

The news of this defeat did not at all prevent the queen, nor retard her march towards London: ſhe fondly imagined, that when her victorious army from Wakefield ſhould appear at the gates, the citizens would immediately throw them open, and expell the earl of Warwick; and Warwick himſelf ſeems to have been apprehenſive of ſome ſuch event; and therefore inſtead of remaining within the walls, and being caught as it were between two fires, he marched out with only a handful of men, to give the queen battle: a ſtep which he would ſcarce have undertaken, had he not ſuſpected the fidelity of the citizens.

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By this time, thequeen had proceeded as far as *Saint Alban's for the Second time*, when ſhe underſtood that Warwick was advancing againſt her, and conducting Henry with him; having however been reinforced with a ſmall body of Londoners.

The two armies met and engaged on *Bernard's heath*, near *Saint Albans*; where, notwithſtanding the inequality of numbers, the bravery and conduct of Warwick rendered the fortune of the day for a long time doubtful; but the lord Lovelace, who had the command of one wing, having treacherouſly withdrawn from the combat, Warwick was defeated, with the loſs of about two thouſand eight hundred men; the earl however retreated in good order with the remainder of his forces: So that this is the ſecond time, that this unfortunate general has been betrayed by treacherous commanders; firſt by Sir Andrew Trollop, and now by this lord Lovelace.

The lord Bonvil, and Sir Thomas Kyriel, who had been entruſted with the care of king Henry's perſon, and had treated him with all becoming mildneſs, and reſpect, were perſuaded to remain with him for his greater ſecurity, on his ſo-

lemn aſſurance, that they ſhould ſuſtain no injury: But what are the aſſurances and engagements of a frivolous, inſignificant huſband, when the queen, with all the ferocity of a ſhe-wolf, regardleſs of her huſband's honour, comes in, and orders both their heads to be ſtruck off at *Saint Albans*, on Aſhwedneſday!

However, although by this victory ſhe had gained a day's march on the duke of York, yet the Londoners were ſo much incenſed at this, and ſeveral other acts of her cruelty, particularly her plundering *Saint Albans* after the battle, that they refuſed to admit her into the city, or even ſo much as to ſupply her troops with proviſions, of which ſhe now ſtood much in need; Provoked at this, ſhe denounced vengeance againſt them; but never had an opportunity to glut her malice; for hearing that the young duke of York, and earl of Warwick had formed a junction at Chipping Norton in Oxfordſhire, and were advancing upon her by long marches towards London, ſhe was obliged to retreat with the king her huſband, and prince of Wales now but eight years of age, once more into the Northern counties.

The duke at laſt entered London on the 12th

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of March, amidſt the ſhouts and acclamations of a people who were always well attached to the houſe of York: The earl of Warwick marſhalled his men in Clerkenwell; and in a public harangue aſked the citizens, if they would any longer have Henry VI. of Lancaſter, for their king? The whole multitude murmured diſcontent: He then nominated Edward duke of York for their ſovereign; ten thouſand hats flew up, and they expreſſed their approbation and conſent in the loudeſt, and moſt joyful acclamations; after which a great number of prelates, lords, magiſtrates, and other perſons of diſtinction, were then invited to Baynard's Caſtle; where Edward, ſupported with all the gracefulneſs of a becoming perſon, laid before them his right to the crown, of which, he ſaid, "his father had been ſo long, and ſo unjuſtly deprived; contrary to all equity, and the known laws of the realm: He put them in mind of the great actions his father had done, the many ſervices he had performed for the good of the nation; he bewailed his unhappy fall; and inveighed againſt the cruel and injurious treatment he had received when dead, from a barbarous and inſulting enemy, who wanted only an opportunity

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§ Stowe ſays, the 26th of February.

of wrecking the ſame vengeance on himſelf, and on all preſent."

The whole aſſembly were ſo much moved, with what he ſaid, or ſo much captivated with his manner of ſaying it, that they ratified the popular election, and immediately reſolved to proclaim him king, on the 10th of † March.

This was accordingly done with all the demonſtrations of joy imaginable; which from being only the outward expreſſions of Zeal of a party, devoted to their head, were now become demonſtrations of Loyalty from a people to their ſovereign: This was owing not altogether to his dignity; but to his behaviour in that dignity; for he was a prince who practiſed the arts of popularity without reſtraint, and conſequently with the greateſt ſucceſs; he really was what he appeared to be; he was affable, generous, beneficent: theſe virtues of humanity were heightened by the courage of a hero; and an intrepidity, which nothing but his having eſcaped ſo many dangers in the field, could excuſe from raſhneſs: Theſe excellences of mind were adorned by a perſon eminently graceful,

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† Stowe ſays, the 4th of March.

ful, amiable, and majeſtic: and with theſe requiſites to gain the affections of the fair ſex, he had a heart formed by nature to return them.

And yet, with all theſe noble, and excellent qualifications, Edward was very far from being a worthy, or a perfect character; as the following hiſtory will abundantly teſtify: for as Shakeſpear has made Hamlet, upon another occaſion, very juſtly remark:

That one may ſmile, and ſmile, and be a villain:

And it is much to be feared, that this young king, notwithſtanding all his ſhining accompliſhments, wore a ſoul, not altogether pure:

Such however were the internal, and external qualifications of the prince now raiſed to the throne: and ſuch was the end of the reign, but not of the life, of Henry VI. who lived to the year 1471, and held the ſceptre of theſe kingdoms with a feeble, and unſteady hand, for thirty eight years, and an half, without having exerciſed any one noble, or any one glorious act of royalty.

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HENRI IV.

THE LIFE
OF
EDWARD IV.
THE XVIth. KING OF ENGLAND.

CHAP. II.

HIS MARRIAGE, BATTLES, AND DEATH.

HOW happy ſoever the nation might eſteem themſelves in the advancement of their new king; how gallant and uxorious ſo ever Edward might be in his own nature; this was not a ſeaſon for amorous delights; CHAP. II. 1461

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - this is no world
To play with mammets, and to tilt at lips;
We muſt have bloody noſes, and crack'd crowns;
And paſs them current too:—ſays Hotſpur in
Firſt part of Henry IV. Act: II. ſc. 6.

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The queen was ſtill in the field; ſhe was ſtill at the head of a numerous army, fluſhed with the victories of Wakefield, and Saint Albans: And was then at York with king Henry, the duke of Somerſet, the lord Clifford, and the moſt conſiderable men of her party: Her forces, by the affection of the Northern people to her cauſe, were now increaſed to the number of at leaſt Sixty thouſand men.

The people, being divided in their affections, began about this time to take different ſymbols of diſtinction; the partizans of the houſe of *Lancaſter* made choice of *the Red roſe*, as the badge of their party; and thoſe of *York* were denominated from *the White roſe*; and thus thoſe wars were known over Europe by the name of the quarrel between *The two Roſes*.

Edward now ſaw himſelf under a neceſſity of maintaining his new ſovereignty by his ſword; or elſe of reſigning his new acquired glory: He therefore put himſelf at the head of his troops in the middle of March; and being joined by the powers of the earl of Warwick, proceeded towards the North in queſt of his enemy.

As the river Aire lay in his route, he ſent a detachment

a detachment, under the lord Fitz-Walter, to secure the pass at Ferrybridge; which he performed without opposition, and posted himself on the other side of the river: But the duke of Somerset, who was appointed by the queen to command her army, while she and her husband staid at York, resolving to dislodge Fitz-Walter at any rate, sent Clifford with so strong a detachment, that the troops under Fitz-Walter, unable to maintain their post, were obliged to repass the river, with the loss of many of their men, among whom was their commander himself. CHAP. II. 1461

The defeat of this detachment, with the loss of that post, which was absolutely necessary to secure the passage of the river, would have discouraged any army, that had been commanded by less experienced and less determined generals, than Edward, and the earl of Warwick: but they took an opportunity, even from this misfortune, both of shewing their own resolution, and of communicating it to their troops; for they ordered proclamation to be made throughout the army, That whoever had a mind to depart, might freely do it, before the battle; but that when it was once begun, whoever

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ever fled, ſhould be treated as enemies: then the earl, drawing his ſword, and kiſſing it, ſwore, That though the whole army fled, he would die, ſooner than leave the king.

Extraordinary acts of vigour like theſe in generals before a battle, are often omens, if not the cauſe of victory: for, as ſoldiers tremble, when their leaders ſhake; ſo they always grow the bolder, when they ſee them brave.

The next thing was to regain the paſs at *Ferrybridge*; to effect this, Edward ſent lord Falconbridge at the head of a ſtronger detachment, with orders to paſs the Aire at Caſtleford, three miles lower: after which he was to march with all expedition to Ferrybridge, and attack the forces commanded by Clifford.

This was performed by Falconbridge with all poſſible ſucceſs: for as ſoon as he had paſſed the river, the enemy having notice of it, quitted their poſt, and made all the haſte they could to their main army; but were prevented by Falconbridge, who charged them with great fury, and put moſt of them to the ſword: In this action the lord Clifford fell; and fell unpitied; ſo truly odious had he made himſelf, by

by his inhumanity to the young earl of Rutland: One thing remarkable attended the family of this unworthy man; the fear of a retaliation from the Yorkiſts, induced ſome of his friends to breed up his own ſon Thomas Clifford, like a ſhepherd; in which employment he continued, till the reign of Henry VII. a prince of the houſe of Lancaſter, by whom he was reſtored to his eſtate and dignity. CHAP. II. 1461

Edward, having thus regained the paſs at Ferrybridge, croſſed the river Aire, and cauſed his whole army to march forward in three lines: the firſt of which was commanded by the lord Falconbridge, in the abſence of the duke of Norfolk, who was fallen ſick; the ſecond, by himſelf, and the earl of Warwick; and the third, by Sir John Wenlock, and Sir John Dinham: When the army came to Saxton, which ſtands upon a riſing ground, they had a fair view of the enemy, who lay encamped on a large plain, between that place, and *Towton*; their army amounted to no leſs than Sixty thouſand men; and that of Edward to little more than Forty thouſand: This great inequality was probably the reaſon, that induced the king to publiſh an order, that no priſoners

CHAP. II. 1461 ſoners ſhould be made, nor quarter given this is only ſuppoſed; becauſe when Edward was afterwards in peaceable poſſeſſion of the crown, and no circumſtances of ſelf-preſervation rended ſeverity neceſſary, no prince was ever more averſe to cruelty.

When the king came to the plain, he found the enemy ready to receive him: Palm Sunday which in the year 1461, happened on the 29th of March, was the day on which this memorable battle of *Towton* was fought.

It began, as moſt engagements formerly did, before the uſe of fire-arms, with a general flight of arrows; in the management of which, the lord Falconbridge gained ſo great an advantage over the enemy, and that advantage contributed ſo much to the victory, that his conduct deſerves to be more particularly explained: It is to be obſerved, that our anceſtors made uſe of two ſorts of arrows in their wars, which it concerns us the more to know, becauſe it is acknowledged by all hiſtorians, that the Engliſh archers were the beſt bow-men in the world; of theſe two ſorts of arrows, one they called *Flight*, and the other *Sheaf arrows*; the former were light-feathered, with a long, ſlender

der ſhaft; and a ſmall head; the latter were high-feathered, with a ſhort and thick ſhaft, and a large head; As the make of theſe arrows was different, ſo was their uſe; Flight arrows were ſhot at a great diſtance; and, with a proper elevation, would kill at above two hundred and forty yards: Sheaf arrows were for cloſer fight, and required a ſmaller elevation; and were ſometimes ſhot point blank. The different uſe of theſe weapons being ſhewn, the ſtrategem aſcribed to lord Falconbridge on this occaſion will be the more eaſily underſtood; which is ſcarce intelligible from the account of all our old hiſtorians; They ſay then, that a thick flight of ſnow happened to fall that morning, and was driven in the face of the Lancaſtrian army: that lord Falconbridge, taking advantage of this circumſtance, ordered the vanguard to let fly a ſhower of *Flight arrows*; but this is certainly a miſtake, and is handed down, and tranſcribed by our more modern writers from one to the other: it ſeems more probable, that lord Falconbridge ordered his men to ſhoot their *Sheaf arrows* with a greater elevation than ordinary; and then retire immediately to a greater diſtance, and halt: The Lancaſtrians, perceiving now that the enemy were within ſhot, and

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and ſuppoſing they had advanced ſtill nearer after their flight of arrows were ſent, but not knowing the exact diſtance, by reaſon of the ſnow, let fly their *Sheaf arrows* likewiſe, which conſequently now fell far ſhort; and not only did no miſchief to the enemy, but by ſticking in the ground, with their ends ſloping towards them, greatly incommoded their own ranks, as they advanced to the charge. Upon this occaſion, we cannot help obſerving, what a pity it is, that hiſtorians, who are ſo often obliged to deſcribe battles, particularly thoſe fought in the earlier ages, are not a little more acquainted with the manner of fighting, practiſed in the reſpective periods of thoſe times, the principal tranſactions of which they undertake to relate; it is for want of this, that their accounts of battles are often ſo lame, and conſequently ſo little *inſtructive*, as ſometimes to be ſcarce *intelligible*.

The relation, given by our old hiſtorians of this battle, proves the truth of the foregoing obſervation; for it is not to be imagined, that the Lancaſtrians, when they received the arrows of the enemy, did not know what ſort of arrows they were, and conſequently, that the enemy

enemy was at a proper diſtance; but the ſtra- CHAP.
tegem of Falconbridge, in ſhooting thoſe ar- II.
rows; and immediately retiring, totally deceiv- 1461
ed them, which the Lancaſtrians not diſcern-
ing, their arrows fell ſhort of the enemy, as our
hiſtorians ſay, full threeſcore yards, or more.

However this may be, certain it is, that Falconbridge by his ſtrategem gained a conſiderable advantage over the vanguard of the Lancaſtrians, which was commanded by the earl of Northumberland: This was ſo well improved by Edward, who, as his cuſtom was, fought on foot, that the Lancaſtrians were unable any longer to ſupport the repeated efforts of men, animated by the example, and encouraged by the bravery of their prince; but after an obſtinate reſiſtance of Ten hours, were forced to give ground: at firſt they heſitated, rather than fled; but this was enough to give freſh courage to their adverſaries; who followed their advantage with ſo much vigour, that they put them at laſt to flight; in which, they were ſo far from finding what they ſought, a ſafety from danger, that many more, as uſually happens, periſhed in the rout, than in the field of battle: for the greateſt part of them flying towards

CHAP. II. towards Tadcaſter bridge, in order to paſs the river there, in their way to the North; and afterwards endeavouring to paſs a ſmall, but deep; brook, called the Cock, which lies in the way ſuch numbers of them were drowned, or killed in the brook, that many paſſed over the dead bodies of their companions; and the Cock, which falls into a large river, called the Wherf, about three miles from thence, carried with its ſtream ſo great a quantity of blood, that the waters of that river were diſcoloured with it.

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The night, that put an end to this bloody day, did not put an end to the ſlaughter, which continued the greateſt part of the day following; and even then only ceaſed, becauſe there were no more to be ſlain: It is ſaid, that above 36,776 men loſt their lives in this action; the moſt conſiderable of whom were the earls of Northumberland, and Weſtmoreland; the lords Dacres, and Wells; with Sir John Neville, and the treacherous Sir Andrew Trollop: The dukes of Somerſet, and Exeter ſaved themſelves by flight: Thomas Courtney, earl Devonſhire, was taken priſoner, and reſerved to be beheaded at York; where, by a ſeve[illegible] which example may extenuate, but can never juſtify, his

his head was placed over one of the gates, in the room of that of the duke of York, the king's father, which Edward cauſed to be taken down, together with the head of the earl of Saliſbury. CHAP. II. 1462

The news of this victory had, before Edward's arrival at York, driven away king Henry; who, with his queen, and ſon, fled to the king of Scotland, to implore his aſſiſtance; which that he might purchaſe, rather than ſue for, he ſent the duke of Somerſet to ſecure the town of Berwick; well knowing how powerful a motive the ſurrender of that town and caſtle would be to the king of Scotland, in order to engage him in his intereſt.

Edward ſtaid at York no longer than his preſence was required, to pacify the troubles, incident to ſudden revolutions, and receive the homage of his Northern ſubjects: after which he returned to London, both to enjoy, and to improve, his victory.

Soon after the arrival at his capital, on the twenty ſeventh day of June, he was crowned at Weſtminſter, with all the acclamations, and rejoicings that were due to his conduct,

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CHAP. II. 1462 conduct, and ſucceſs. Rewards and puniſhments employed him next; in the diſtributions of which, he conducted himſelf in ſuch a manner, as ſhewed he was reſolved, that neither his friends, nor his enemies ſhould overcome him in good, or in ill offices; for to the former he was grateful, generous, and magnificent; and to the latter, ſevere, but not inexorable; witneſs the duke of Somerſet, who was the ſoul of the oppoſite party; Sir Ralph Piercy, brother to the duke of Northumberland, and many others; to whom, upon their ſubmiſſion, he generouſly granted his pardon: Others indeed, who were either taken priſoners in arms, or were convicted of having entered into conſpiracies againſt him, he put to death; as prudence, and the law required.

But to return to the effects of his gratitude, and friendſhip; he created George, his ſecond brother, duke of Clarence: and yet, through the ſtrange, and abominable policy of the times, he was obliged afterwards to put that very brother to death! he likewiſe made Richard, his younger brother, now but eight years old, duke of Gloceſter; and yet, through the cruel, and unnatural diſpoſition of the man, this is the very

very brother, who cuts off his poſterity, by a barbarous murder! as we ſhall have occaſion to mention hereafter. The lord Falconbridge he made earl of Kent; and Henry Bourchier, who had married the princeſs Iſabella, ſiſter to the late duke of York, (conſequently his aunt,) earl of Eſſex: And John Neville, brother to the earl of Warwick, he made lord Mountague. CHAP. II. 1462

Theſe promotions were confirmed during the firſt ſeſſions of parliament, on the 14th of November, which the king called, ſoon after his coronation: and in this parliament, all the acts, made formerly in favour of the houſe of Lancaſter, were repealed; and the right to the crown declared to be in king Edward, and his heirs: For it is proper to obſerve, that in all this quarrel betwixt the two families, the parliament always declared on the ſide of the victor; becauſe they never had the liberty of acting otherwiſe; they were never called upon, nor conſulted, till after the queſtion had been decided by the ſword; conſequently it was in vain to allege acts of parliament to ſupport the rights of the conquered party.

Having

CHAP. II. Having thus ſettled the king on his throne, let us now advert to other affairs:

1462 As Scotland, and France, were the two nations, with whom Edward was more principally engaged, during his reign, in intereſt, or oppoſition, it will be proper to take a view of the reſpective ſituations of thoſe two ſtates at the time of his acceſſion.

James the Second of Scotland having been killed by the burſting of a cannon, at the ſiege of Roxburgh, July the 22d, 1460, which he he had undertaken at the perſuaſion of the late duke of York, was ſucceeded by his ſon James the Third; then about ſeven years old: His minority, as it generally happens, gave riſe to many innovations, and afforded room for ambition to look about her, by ſetting great and turbulent men to form parties, and canvaſſing their ſeveral friends, in order to obtain the regency.

Anne de Gueldres, relict of the late, and mother to the preſent king, was daughter of a ſiſter of the duke of Burgundy, and declared herſelf head of one of theſe parties; and the earl of

of Angus, of the other: The ſtates, in order to compromiſe this difference, committed the care of the young king's education to the queen dowager; and appointed the earl of Angus regent. CHAP. II. 1462

This was the ſituation of affairs in Scotland, when Henry, with Margaret, and their ſon, fled thither for refuge; they found themſelves involved among a people almoſt as much divided by faction, and diſcord, as thoſe by whom they had ſo lately been driven from their own dominions.

When Edward had notice of their arrival at the Scotiſh court, he naturally concluded they would endeavour to engage the Scots in their quarrel: To avert therefore this danger, and diſappoint their ſolicitations, he propoſed a truce; and ambaſſadors were accordingly ſent to London to conclude it.

But the queen dowager broke all theſe meaſures; for being deſcended from a daughter of the earl Somerſet, ſhe was naturally allied to the houſe of Lancaſter; and ſuffered herſelf to be ſo far prevailed upon by Margaret, as to promiſe her young

CHAP. II. 1462 young daughter Margaret in marriage to prince Edward, king Henry's ſon; and to employ her utmoſt powers for the reſtoration of her family.

The true cauſe of all theſe meaſures was the engagement, which Henry entered into at the ſame time, to deliver up Berwick to the Scots; which was ſurrendered accordingly.

As Edward was not apprehenſive of any immediate danger from that quarter, he did not think it neceſſary to perſue the fugitives into their retreat; he therefore convoked his parliament; which was now no longer divided between the two rival families, nor propoſed any of thoſe expedients, which inſtead of ſecuring the peace of the kingdom, ſerved only to involve it in farther calamities; they once more confirmed his title; and expreſſed their abhorrence of the uſurpation in the houſe of Lancaſter §.

But

§ It appears evident in the *Acta Regia*, p. 291. that king Henry muſt have been taken priſoner either at, or preſently after the battle of Towton, fought on the 29, of March, 1461; for on the 4th of November following, an order was made by king Edward, for putting James Haryngton in poſſeſſion of a grant, for having taken Henry VI. though no hiſtorian mentions

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But Edward had greater reaſon to be apprehenſive of the attempts of foreign potentates: Philip, duke of Burgundy, was ſtill alive; the ſame perſon, whoſe alliance with Henry the Fifth had ſo nearly proved fatal to the crown of France: which alliance, for reaſons that do not belong to our preſent ſubject, he had renounced at the congreſs at Arras, in the year 1435: his third wife was Iſabella, Infanta of Portugal, daughter of Philippa, who was daughter to John of Ghent: this alliance naturally inclined him to favour the houſe of Lancaſter; by her he had Charles, earl of Charolois, preſumptive heir to all his dominions, and known afterwards by the name of Charles the Bold, who in 1466 married the princeſs Margaret, younger ſiſter to Edward IV.

tions it: Beſides, in the ſame work, p. 290, we meet with a Patent, appointing the earl of Warwick to officiate as high ſteward of England at the trial of Henry VI. lately king *de Facto*, and not *de Jure*; and of ſome other rebels; dated at Weſtminſter, December 3d, 1461. It is plain therefore from both the above Deeds, that Henry was in cuſtody, and was to have been tried; but how he eſcaped again, we have no account.

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1462 By the death of Charles the Bold, who was killed before Nancy in 1470, and the marriage of his daughter Mary, whom he had by a former wife, all the dominions, belonging to the houſe of Burgundy, fell to that of Auſtria: Theſe dominions, conſiſting of the Seventeen Provinces of the Low Countries, Franche Comte, and the County of Charolois, were at the time that Edward acceded to the throne of England, in poſſeſſion of Philip, duke of Burgundy, and rendered that prince worthy to be courted as an ally, or feared as an enemy.

Lewis XI. was at this time king of France; a prince of a character not eaſy to be deſcribed: cunning, falſe, and ſuſpicious; carrying on his deſigns leſs by hoſtility, than treachery; a dangerous, rather than a formidable enemy; ſo exceſſively cautious and jealous of every thing, that ſcarce any advantage could engage him to venture a battle; but he always ſought peace in the midſt of war; as he ſought war in the midſt of peace; and mingled duty with rebellion: Six years before the death of his father Charles VII. hearing he was marching againſt him with a very conſiderable army, he fled out of

of France, and retired to the court of the duke of Burgundy; where he lived, till his father died: during which time the earl of Charolois, and he, grew ſo perfectly acquainted with each other, that they were ever after enemies: It is not known what occaſion he had given his father to ſtarve himſelf to death, for fear of being poiſoned by ſome of his emiſſaries; but it cannot be denied, that if no particular fact can be charged againſt him, his character muſt have been very unfortunate to have given room for ſuch a ſuſpicion: The great object of his policy, next to the enſlaving his own ſubjects, was the reducing the power of the dukes of Burgundy, and Brittany: This hindred him from taking any great ſhare in the conteſt between the two houſes of York and Lancaſter; and rendered him very little affected with the diſgrace and defeat of Margaret, his near relation. CHAP. II. 1462

After Henry and his queen had ſecured the aſſiſtance of Scotland, by the treaty of marriage, and ſurrender of Berwick, as above mentioned, Margaret went to the court of France, to engage Lewis alſo in her quarrel: but this was no eaſy taſk, even for a woman to accompliſh;

CHAP. II. all that her prayers, her tears, her relation to him, and even her diſtreſs, could draw from him,

1462 was about five hundred men, under the conduct of Brezé, ſeneſchal of Normandy.

With theſe ſhe ſet ſail for Scotland: where having refreſhed her men, ſhe ſet ſail again for Newcaſtle, where ſhe expected to be joined by many of her party; but landing at Tinmouth, her company were ſo roughly handled by ſome Engliſh forces, collected there, that they were obliged to reimbark: and were no ſooner at ſea, than a ſtorm aroſe, which ſeparated her ſhip from the reſt: in this unfortunate ſituation ſhe continued ſome time, before ſhe could reach Berwick: the reſt of the company were driven towards Bamburgh, where they attempted to land: but being repulſed, they retired to a ſmall iſland, called Holy Iſland; where Ogle, and Manners, with ſome other friends of king Edward, fell upon them, and killing ſome, took about Four hundred of them priſoners: Brezé had the good fortune to eſcape to Berwick in a fiſhing boat.

Here queen Margaret received a conſiderable reinforcement from Scotland; with which ſhe

and

and king Henry entered Northumberland; leaving prince Edward at Berwick. CHAP. II. 1462

In their march, they took the caſtle of Bamburgh; where they left a Scotch garriſon, and advanced towards the biſhopric of Durham, plundering and laying waſte the country wherever they came: for the queen, both to increaſe her numbers, and gratify her revenge, allowed her men all manner of rapine. This had the deſired effect; the hopes of ſpoil drew many to her ſervice, without any other regard to her cauſe, than as it afforded them a preſent opportunity of committing their ravages with impunity.

As ſoon as the duke of Somerſet, and Sir Ralph Piercy heard that the queen was advancing at the head of an army, conſiderable enough, not only to protect her friends, but alarm her enemies, they forgot all the engagements they had made to king Edward; and, what is more, the pardon he had ſo generouſly granted them, from a dependence on their future adherence; and preſently went over to Margaret with all their friends and connexions.

Such behaviour is enough to juſtify all the

CHAP. II. severity, that is ſometimes exerciſed towards a conquered foe, and merits all the ſufferings they
1462 may hereafter meet with; and indeed if none but thoſe, who are guilty of ſo much infidelity and ingratitude, were ſufferers by it, the crime being puniſhed, the criminals would be ſoon forgotten; but when ſuch inſtances of diſloyalty abound, the crime, from being of a private iniquity, becomes a general calamity; becauſe it bars the doors of mercy, and involves numbers in ruin, who might otherwiſe have remained innocent; and therefore what puniſhment can expiate ſuch a crime? a prince, thus deceived may be tempted to think no man faithful, but all men traitors; which muſt neceſſarily create in him a ſuſpicion and diffidence of his relations, his friends, and his ſubjects; all of whom in their turns, will ſooner, or later, feel the ill effects of it.

When Edward was informed that queen Margaret was in Northumberland, and that her army increaſed every day, he made all the neceſſary preparations to diſpute the crown once more with his adverſary: To this purpoſe he raiſed a conſiderable army, and ſent his fleet to cruiſe

cruiſe upon the coaſts of Norfolk, Lincolnſhire, and Yorkſhire: But in order to give an immediate check to the progreſs of his enemy, he diſpatched the lord Mountague, brother to the earl of Warwick, with ſuch of his forces as were ready; while he himſelf with his brothers, and great part of the nobility, advanced as far as York with the reſt of his army. CHAP. II. 1463

As ſoon as the king arrived there, he ſent a reinforcement to Mountague, who thereupon marched immediately in queſt of the enemy, who had likewiſe ſent a conſiderable detachment under the lords Hungerford, and Roos, with Sir Ralph Piercy: Theſe two detachments met at a place called *Hedgely-moor*.

The engagement laſted not long; for Mountague put them to flight at the firſt onſet: however Sir Ralph Piercy was ſlain; and received in ſome meaſure the puniſhment due to his infidelity.

Edward being informed of this advantage, was determined to march himſelf in perſon againſt the enemy, at the head of a numerous army: but Mountague, encouraged by his late

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ſucceſs, intended himſelf to have the ſole honour of defeating Margaret before the king's arrival; he therefore made ſeveral forced marches, and arrived at laſt on the 24th, of June, at *Hexham*; where he found her ſtrongly entrenched with all her forces; notwithſtanding which, he reſolved to attack her camp immediately, if ſhe was determined not to come out, and meet him in the open plain: ſhe ſeemed to make no advances, as ſhe perceived he was eager to engage; and therefore waited quietly in her camp: This Mountague could not bear; and reſolved to fall upon them moſt furiouſly in their lines: The battle was long and doubtful; for the Lancaſtrians defended themſelves reſolutely; and yet all their reſolution could not protect them from that ſuperiour valour, with which thoſe who attacked them ſeemed to be inſpired: Thus many fell on both ſides; as muſt be the caſe, when an attack is furiouſly made, reſolutely perſiſted in, and as gallantly oppoſed: but at length Mountague's men broke through all oppoſition, and forced the intrenchments, and then a mighty ſlaughter enſued; for now all were thrown into confuſion, a general rout ſucceeded; every one helping to increaſe the diſorder,

diſorder, in which numbers were taken priſoners, and 2,100, were ſlain: among the former were Henry duke of Somerſet, who had better have died in the heat of action, than been taken priſoner in perſuit; for he could not expect any mercy for his treachery: together with him were taken the lords Roos, Molins, and Hungerford; William Talboye, earl of Kyme, Sir John Finderne, Sir Thomas Wentworth, Sir Thomas Huſſy, and Sir Humphry Neville; all of whom were not ſuffered to languiſh long in confinement; they were inſtantly tried by martial law, and found guilty of high-treaſon; the firſt was beheaded at *Hexham*, the laſt was executed at York, and the reſt at Newcaſtle: Henry and Margaret, once more, fled towards Scotland, and the king was ſo cloſely perſued, that many of his ſumpter horſes, and attendents were taken; among whom there was one, who had on his head king Henry's cap of ſtate, adorned with two rich crowns; which was ſoon after preſented to king Edward at York; where he arrived on Trinity ſunday, and immediately created the lord Mountague earl of Northumberland, and warden of the marches; the earl of that name being in the ſervice of Henry: and then the

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CHAP. II. 1463 the whole army marched to Durham; from whence he detached the earl of Warwick, and the lord Mountague, now earl of Northumberland, into Northumberland, to recover thoſe places the queen had taken, and which her adherents were ſtill in poſſeſſion of: theſe were Alnwick, Bamburgh, and Dunſtanburgh; the firſt was defended by Brezè with the remains of thoſe few Frenchmen, who had attended Margaret to Scotland; theſe held out, till the earl of Angus came to their relief with a body of Thirteen thouſand Scotch troops; but notwithſtanding this ſupply, the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of the place; and the two other caſtles were ſoon after recovered.

Every thing being ſettled in thoſe parts, Edward returned back to York; and Jaſper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, half brother to king Henry, having likewiſe forfeited his title, he conferred it on William, lord Herbert, who by his zealous attachment to the houſe of York, and many great qualifications, highly deſerved that dignity. Some time after, the new earl of Northumberland having made his peace with king Edward, he was reſtored to his title, on the reſignation of the lord Mountague, who

thereupon

thereupon was made marquis of Mountague; and being continued lord of the Northern marches, he was commanded to levy men, and build fortreſſes; in order to ſecure the borders againſt any future incurſions from Scotland. CHAP. II. 1463

Theſe precautions, together with the late victory, and the proper uſe king Edward made of it, by a ſeaſonable diſtribution of puniſhments and pardons, procured him not only tranquillity at home, but alſo an application from thoſe foreign princes, who were moſt able to diſturb it: The Scots ſued to him for a truce to ſubſiſt for one year; and obtained it: Lewis XI. did the ſame, by the mediation of the duke of Burgundy; and with equal ſucceſs; beſides which, the treaty of peace and commerce between the two nations of England and France was renewed, upon the former conditions: The duke of Burgundy alſo was glad to be included in the ſame alliance.

Henry now finding that treaties were continually negociating between James and Edward; and perceiving himſelf thus deſerted and abandoned by the king of Scotland, with whom he had taken refuge; by the king of France, who

was

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was ſo nearly related to his queen; and by the duke of Burgundy, who had married a princeſs of the houſe of Lancaſter, took a reſolution, the raſhneſs of which even his wretched condition, forlorn as it was, could not juſtify; whether he thought himſelf too miſerable to fear any thing, or too weak in his underſtanding to know how to fear, certain it is, that even the furious Margaret conſented he ſhould leave Scotland; and enter England in diſguiſe; but he had paſſed the borders only a few days, when, about the middle of July, he was ſeized as he ſat at dinner in Widington hall in Lancaſhire, by Thomas, ſon of Sir Edward Talbot, and immediately conveyed to London; ſome of our old hiſtorians ſay in ſo ingnominious a manner, as to have his legs tied under the horſe's belly: or rather to his ſtirrups, (according to the *Acta Regia*,) but let us hope, that even the rudeneſs of thoſe times, barbarous as they were, were not altogether ſo void of commiſeration, as not to feel for the unfortunate; and particularly an unfortunate king; and their own king once.

As ſoon as the wretched king Henry arrived in London, he was conducted to the Tower by the

the earl of Warwick; by that very earl, who a few years hence, we ſhall find proclaiming this very captive king, once more king of England. Such ſtrange events does the revolution of a few years bring about in kingdoms, ſtates, and nations. CHAP. II. 1463

With regard to the queen, it is moſt probable ſhe conſented to be thus ſeparated from her huſband in his flight from the Scotiſh court; for fear of being diſcovered the ſooner, if they had continued together; beſides, it ſeemed more prudent, to avoid the danger of both of them falling at once into the enemy's power: but no fear of danger whatever could induce her to part from the young prince, her ſon; all other fears yielded to that of loſing him; ſhe could not entruſt him with the king his father; ſhe dared not leave him with the Scotiſh king; nor would ſhe venture to let him ſhift alone; but as the moſt prudent method, ſhe reſolved to ſhare one common danger with him: While they were travelling towards the ſea coaſts, with a very few attendents, they were ſo narrowly watched, that they were preſently perſued by a party of Edward's men; who diſperſed all their attendents, but could not

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not overtake her, nor her ſon, before they found ſhelter in a neighbouring foreſt.

1463

But they had no ſooner eſcaped from one danger, than another preſented itſelf; they were preſently ſurrounded by a gang of banditti, who infeſted that foreſt: They ſtript her of her rings, and her jewels; which affording them a much greater booty, than they expected, they quarrelled about the diviſion of the ſpoil; and while they were jangling among themſelves, the queen and her ſon took the opportunity of ſecreting themſelves in a thicker part of the wood: They had ſcarce time to reflect on their paſt danger, and happy eſcape from it, than they perceived another robber advancing towards them with a drawn ſword; finding it impoſſible to avoid him, ſhe embraced the moſt brave and prudent reſolution, that her preſent ſituation ſuggeſted, which was of committing herſelf, and her ſon, to the faith and generoſity of this outlaw: advancing then towards him with an undaunted air, that juſtified what ſhe was going to ſay, Save, ſaid ſhe, the ſon of good king Henry, and me his wretched mother! Theſe few, but ſtrong words, the language of greatneſs in diſtreſs, wrought ſo effectually,

tually on the mind of this unknown ſtranger, who, though abandoned in principles, was not intirely loſt to the ſoft feelings of humanity, ſtopped ſhort, and viewing the majeſtic appearance of the queen, relented, and not only abſtained from committing any violence, but ſolemnly vowed to devote himſelf to her ſervice; he even dared to comfort her; and taking the young prince by the hand, conducted them to a ſmall village, for refreſhment, of which they both by this time ſtood in great need: What could the moſt exalted mind have done more? he even did more; he ſhortly after led them to the ſea ſide; where they embarked in a ſmall veſſel for Flanders; and repaired afterwards to the court of her father Reginer, count of Anjou. Here now our hiſtorians are deficient, in not having tranſmitted the name of this worthy man to poſterity.

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Such was this concluſion of the memorable, battle of *Hexham*; which gave a terrible blow to the affairs of the Lancaſter family, and party; for king Henry being in the Tower, and the queen and her ſon fled to France, their adherents diſperſed themſelves, in order to provide every one for his own ſafety.

Jaſper

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Jaſper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, wandered about England, and Wales, often in danger of being diſcovered, and always in fear of it: Edmund Beaufort the new duke of Somerſet, brother to that Henry, who has been ſo lately beheaded at Hexham, and John Holland, duke of Exeter, fled to the Low Countries: this duke, notwithſtanding his having married Anne, the eldeſt ſiſter to king Edward from whom he had been divorced three or four years ‡ was engaged in the intereſt of the houſe of Lancaſter; Theſe two dukes, Edmund, duke of Somerſet, and John, duke of Exeter, retired to Bruges, the reſidence then of the duke of Burgundy; but not daring to make themſelves known, were reduced to great want and miſery; inſomuch that Philip de Comines, who was then in the ſervice of the duke of Burgundy, ſays, he ſaw the duke of Exeter following the duke of Burgundy's train, without ſhoes and ſtockings; and at other times begging his bread from

‡ In the *Acta Regia*, p. 291, there is a grant to the king's ſiſter *Anne*, ducheſs of Exeter, of the eſtate of the duke her huſband, which came to the king by forfeiture; dated July 22nd, 1462: which forfeiture might have been incurred after the battle of Towton in 1462, or Wakefield in 1460.

from door to door: but that afterwards when they were diſcovered to the duke, he allowed them ſmall penſions, for their preſent ſubſiſtence. CHAP. II. 1463

King Edward, having thus defeated and diſperſed his enemies, and ſtrengthened himſelf by alliances with thoſe princes, who ſeemed moſt engaged by intereſt, or inclination to give him any diſturbance, began to employ his thoughts on procuring the bleſſings of peace, and plenty, and ſecurity both to himſelf, and all his ſubjects: To this end, he reformed the coin, which was greatly adulterated; his next care was to redreſs thoſe grievances, which had either ſprung up, or been connived at, during the late commotions; and to cauſe juſtice to be adminiſtered with that impartiality, which can alone give dignity to authority.

If by this attention to the good of his ſubjects, he gained their eſteem; by his affability he gained their affections; for no prince ever lived with his people in greater condeſcenſion, or leſs affectation of ſuperiority; he did not think he debaſed himſelf by converſing freely after his victories, with thoſe who help-

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ed him to obtain them; and deſpiſed the vanity of thoſe princes, who think to gain reſpect by being inacceſſible; though he admired their policy, in perſuing the only means they had in their power to obtain it: Conſcious of merit, he knew the ſureſt way of gaining reſpect, was to be known; and that princes, whom fortune has raiſed ſo high, have no other way left to riſe ſtill higher, but by deſcending from their elevation, and voluntarily approaching to the level of the reſt of the world.

1463

The attention of Edward was not confined to thoſe of his ſubjects alone, who had eſpouſed his cauſe; he extended it to all; at leaſt to all, who would render themſelves worthy of it; for about this time he publiſhed a proclamation, in which he offered a pardon to all his adverſaries, who would ſubmit to his mercy, except Ralph Gray, and Humphry Neville.

Happy indeed would it have been both for himſelf, and his people, had this been the path, in which he had continued to tread; but, as the heart of man is apt to be elated with ſucceſs; ſo is it apt to grow wanton with too much proſperity: he began now to reſign himſelf to the indulgence

indulgence of thoſe pleaſures, which his youth, his high fortune, and his warm conſtitution, naturally led him to enjoy; and the cares of government began leſs to be regarded, than the diſſipations of amuſement, and the allurementse of female arts; for the elegance of his perſon, and the politeneſs of his addreſs, even without the recommendation of royalty, made him extremely agreeable to the fair ſex: CHAP. II. 1463

- - - - - - - - - - - namque ipſa decoram
Cæſariem nato genetrix, lumenque juventæ
Purpureum; et lætos oculis adflârat honores.
- - - - - - - - - - - for Venus queen
Had deck'd her ſon with flowing hair, and bloom
Of ruddy youth; joy ſparkled in his eyes.

Æn. I. 593.

He lived in the moſt free and familiar manner with his citizens of London; and this pleaſurable life contributed greatly to his popularity: for his affability, bravery, raſhneſs, uxorioufneſs, and incontinence, engaged, and won him the hearts of all his ſubjects, both male and female; ſo that it is ſcarce poſſible to ſuppoſe, any prince could have ſate more eaſy, and happy on the throne, than he might have done, if one raſh and imprudent action had not over-

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turned all his glory and happineſs; and entailed miſery and deſtruction on his family, after his deceaſe; for this amorous temper of Edward betrayed him into a meaſure, which almoſt deprived him of the throne. Hitherto his affairs had been attended with all poſſible ſucceſs; but the ſcene was now ſoon to be changed; and Edward, from being the happieſt of all men, was ſoon to become the moſt miſerable; I ſay, the moſt miſerable, becauſe he owed all his approaching misfortunes to himſelf, to his own intemperate paſſion of love; the indulgence of which was followed by the loſs of what was moſt dear to him, his reputation; and that was followed by the loſs of his crown for a time, and of his friend for ever; and though his own exceſſive bravery, and admirable conduct in the field ſuſpended the baneful influence of this unfortunate act, during his own life, yet it ſpread itſelf afterwards over all thoſe, who belonged to him; till it involved his family, and friends, in ruin.

The ſource, from whence all theſe misfortunes aroſe, was his diſproportionate, and unſeaſonable marriage with one of his own ſubjects; the widow of his enemy.

This

This tranſaction is in all its circumſtances ſo very extraordinary, and ſo very Romantic, particularly with regard to the juncture of time it happened in, that no part of it muſt be omitted; though the whole affair appears more like the adventures of a theatre, or a novel, than the real incidents of true hiſtory. CHAP. II. 1463

Edward, being about this time deſirous of eſtabliſhing the poſſeſſion of the crown in his own family, and knowing this could not be done without legal iſſue, had, with all the prudence of a juſt, and wiſe prince, well weighed and conſidered this important event; and had at laſt fixed his mind upon the young, and amiable lady Bona of Savoy; who was then at the French court, on a viſit to her ſiſter, queen to Lewis XI.

To compleat this deſirable match, he had ſent the greateſt ſubject in his kingdom, and one of his greateſt friends, the earl of Warwick; to demand that princeſs in marriage: the embaſſy was performed; the propoſal was accepted; the contract was fully ſettled: and nothing now remained to be done, but the ratification of the marriage treaty, and conducting the princeſs to England; when, aſtoniſhing to reflect! all theſe glorious ſcenes burſt into thin air; and all theſe

CHAP. II. happy proſpects were blaſted, as it were by one ſudden flaſh of lightning, darted from a fair 1463 young widow's eyes.

To account for this ſtrange and wonderful event, we muſt turn our thoughts to another ſcene; which takes its origin from John, duke of Bedford, third ſon to Henry IV. and brother to that ſcourge of France, Henry V. and conſequently uncle to Henry VI. This duke of Bedford was regent of France, during the minority of his nephew; and while he was abroad, he married to his ſecond wife, Jaqueline, daughter to Peter of Luxemburg, count of Saint Pol; and dying, left her a widow.

This lady afterwards came over to England, and married Sir Richard Woodville; by whom ſhe had among other children a daughter, named Elizabeth, who is to be the great mover in all our future ſcenes: ſhe had been married to Sir John Gray of Groby, by whom ſhe had children; but he having been killed on the ſide of the Lancaſtrians, in the ſecond battle of Saint Albans, in 1461, and her jointure, with his eſtate, having been forfeited, at the acceſſion of king Edward, ſhe had returned to her parents, with whom ſhe now lived in widowed ſolitude, at Grafton in Northamptonſhire. It

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It happened that Edward while hunting, was drawn by the chace near the ſeat of Sir Richard, which ſtood on the borders of Wychwood foreſt: Edward, reflecting that the ducheſs was a diſtant relation, and notwithſtanding the inequality of her ſecond marriage with Sir Richard, was treated by every one with all the reſpect, that was due to her great birth, but greater alliance; Edward, it ſeems, either through good manners, or ill fortune, was led to pay her a viſit.

After the king had taken ſome refreſhment, and the attendents were removed, the young widow thought this would be a moſt favourable opportunity for addreſſing the king in perſon; ſhe therefore deſired, ſhe might be admitted into his preſence: when entered, ſhe threw herſelf at his feet; begged he would forgive her huſband's error, in compaſſion to the innocence and diſtreſs of his widow, and children; humbly imploring a pittance out of their father's forfeited eſtate.

The ſight of ſo much beauty in affliction made a deep impreſſion on the amorous heart

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of Edward, who was unable to reſiſt the united force of ſo many charms; from the moment he ſaw her, and heard her ſpeak, he pitied, admired, and loved; he raiſed her up, and aſſured her of his favor: But, like a young and ardent woer, his pity, admiration, and love, had no farther effect upon him at preſent, than to create a deſire of making her his miſtreſs; till her reſiſtance forced him to make her his wife: this condition he muſt ſubmit to, or renounce for ever all hopes of poſſeſſing her: for upon the very firſt declaration he made to her of his paſſion, ſhe told him, that "though ſhe did not eſteem herſelf ſo highly, as to think ſhe deſerved to be his queen, yet ſhe thought herſelf too good to be his concubine: And added, that ſhe was incapable of loving any one, but a huſband; and ſince it was impoſſible he could ever have that condeſcenſion, deſired he would be content with her paying him all the reſpect and duty, which ſhe owed to her king, and benefactor." Having ſaid this, ſhe withdrew.

This anſwer, in which there was ſuch a complication of modeſty, reſolution, reſpect, and gratitude, puzzled the king: for being unuſed to reſiſtance from the fair ſex, he knew the leſs

leſs how to overcome it; and found, that nothing but making her a queen, could make him happy: at the ſame time, all the inconveniences, that muſt naturally attend a ſtep of that nature, forced themſelves upon his imagination, and ſuſpended for a time the violence of his paſſion. CHAP. II. 1463.

Such a conflict was too uneaſy a ſituation to be long endured by a prince, and a man in love; and ſerved only to ſhew his weakneſs, and her power: he therefore ſoon reſolved to enſure the poſſeſſion of a preſent beauty; and leave the reſt to fortune: with this reſolution he retired to reſt; for the day was now too far ſpent, to think of the chace, or retreating from Grafton. We may eaſily conceive the agitations of his mind, during the tedious hours of the night; he earneſtly wiſhed for the return of morn, that he might have another conference with this dear, enchanting woman.

As ſoon therefore as they met the next day, when lady Gray ſaw the king was ſo far gone in his paſſion, as to be out of the call of reaſon, or power of advice, ſhe knew ſhe might, very ſafely, hazard a repreſentation of the ill

conſequences

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conſequences of his reſolution, which he might be ſure many of his friends would not fail to lay before him: This ſeeming regard for his intereſt, and neglect of her own, ſerved only to inflame him the more; and made him now eſteem her, as his beſt of friends, who could thus ſo nearly, and ſo tenderly intereſt herſelf in his welfare: this was a ſufficient proof of her concern for him; and this was fully ſatisfactory to his peace of mind; and therefore after a ſincere, and mutual exchange of promiſes, he took his leave.

This adventure of the king was ſoon related to the ducheſs dowager of York, the king's mother, who in vain tried all the force of every argument, to diſſuade him from engaging any farther in it: She put him in mind of the lady Bona, to whom he was already affianced; and in whoſe cauſe he might be ſure of drawing upon himſelf all the vengeance of Lewis XI. her brother in-law, who would never forgive the indignant ſlight, thus thrown upon his family: She reminded him of the high affront he would offer to the earl of Warwick, his greateſt, and his beſt of friends; for all whoſe great and good offices, this indignity, which he

was

was going to put upon him in the face of all Europe, would be but an ill requital; for if he provoked him in ſo outrageous a manner, he muſt expect to find him as warm in his reſentment, as he had, hitherto found him in his friendſhip; and that, if the earl ſhould declare againſt him, he might be aſſured the whole nation would aſſiſt him to revenge his injury: She entreated him, not to open thoſe wounds, which had already bled but too plentifully; and which were ſo newly cloſed: And, laſtly, ſhe moſt earneſtly begged of him, not to be guilty of action, which muſt unavoidably be a matter of triumph to his enemies, and of confuſion to his friends. CHAP. II. 1463

Theſe, with many other arguments the ducheſs mixed with her tears, to divert her ſon from his fatal purpoſe: But neither tears, nor arguments are of any avail in Love: Edward was deaf to all,

- - - - - - - - - - - - - nullis ille movetur
Fletibus, aut voces ullas tractabilis audit;
Fata obſtant; placidaſque viri deus obſtruit aures:
Mens immota manet; lachrymæ volvuntur inanes:

- - - - but

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- - - - - - - - - - - - but he is moved
By no complaints, nor mildly hears their tales;
The Fates forbade; Jove ſtopp'd the hero's ears:—
His mind's unmoved; their tears are rolled in vain.

Æn. IV. 438.

and he either did not attend to the conſequences of what he was doing, or elſe would not regard them.

The laſt effort that the ducheſs made, in order to reclaim her ſon, was this: Among other miſtreſſes, the king had one, whoſe name was Elizabeth Lucy †. the ducheſs prevailed upon this lady to report, that Edward had given her a contract of marriage, as the condition of her yielding to his deſires. But this had no other effect, than for a ſhort time to ſuſpend the king's really intended marriage: for the biſhops, to whom he referred his cauſe, declared, on their examination of what the lady herſelf had alleged, that the ſuppoſed contract was a nullity; and

† She was the daughter of one Wyat of Southampton, a mean gentleman, ſays Buck; and the wife of one Lucy, as mean a man as Wyat: the miſtreſs of Edward ſhe notoriouſly was.

and conſequently that the king was at liberty to marry any other perſon. § CHAP. II. 1463

All oppoſition to his deſires being now either removed, or ſubdued, he made haſte to ſolemnize his marriage; which was privately performed, on the firſt of May, at Grafton; and for

§ Here, it is aſtoniſhing to reflect, that there is another, and a yet ſtronger argument againſt Edward's marrying the Lady Gray, which the ducheſs might have made uſe of, and which the biſhops themſelves ought to have made uſe of: let us hope the biſhop of Bath was not one of their number; I mention him in particular, becauſe, when the affair of baſtardizing Edward's children, which were born after this marriage, comes to be ſet on foot, we ſhall find, that the biſhop of Bath is mentioned as the very identical perſon, who had already married Edward to the lady Eleanor Butler: Could the ducheſs have been ignorant of this marriage? yes, ſhe muſt; otherwiſe ſhe would have made uſe of it, as a bar, that precluded all farther Contracts: Could the biſhops have been ignorant of this circumſtance? yes, they muſt; otherwiſe they would not have declared, that the king was at liberty to marry any other perſon. But what are we to think of the king himſelf? Could he have been ignorant of his being already a married man? By this marriage with lady Gray, if Butler were already his wife, and ſhe certainly was ſtill living, he muſt have baſtardized his own children himſelf. For want of dates to aſcertain theſe facts, for hiſtorians take not the leaſt notice of them, we muſt leave them as dark, as we have found them: If the affair of lady Butler be a fact; what becomes of

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for ſome time carefully concealed. But as it is impoſſible, that affairs of this nature can be totally ſuppreſſed, the news of the king's marriage ſoon ſpred itſelf over the kingdom, and even to the continent; where it reached the earl of Warwick, who was obliged inſtantly to break off all farther negotiations of marriage with

the lady Gray? and if this affair of the lady Gray be good and valid, then what will hereafter become of Richard's baſtardizing act of parliament? Beſides; can we poſſibly ſuppoſe, that Edward would think of marrying the lady Bona, a ſtranger, and a foreigner, if he knew himſelf at that very time to be a married man? ſuch a baſe action would undoubtedly have expoſed the nation to a foreign war, immediately upon ſuch diſcovery.—But then, what are we to think of Mr. Walpole's evidence for the marriage of lady Butler? he ſays, p. 41. " we have the moſt undoubted authorities to aſſure us, that Edward's pre-contract, or marriage, urged to invalidate his match with the lady Gray, was with the lady Eleanor Talbot, widow of lord Butler of Sudeley, and ſiſter, (p. 43. daughter) of the earl of Shrewſbury, one of the greateſt noblemen in the kingdom; her mother was the lady Katharine Stafford, daughter of Humphry duke of Buckingham, a prince of the blood: an alliance in that age never reckoned unſuitable: Hear the evidence: Honeſt Philip de Comines, ſays, that the biſhop of Bath informed Richard, that he had married king Edward to an Engliſh lady: "—Then let us only aſk, Where was this lady, and all her great friends and relations, when Edward married the lady Gray? were

with the lady Bona; whoſe brother in law, Lewis happened at that time to be too much employed at home, to engage in a foreign war with England, in order to revenge this indignity offered to his wife's ſiſter: however, another point prevented him; and that was the treaty which Edward had entered into this year with the CHAP. II. 1463

they all dead? was the biſhop of Bath dead? If Edward had been actually married by that biſhop to that lady, ſhe muſt have been dead, before Edward married Gray; or elſe we ſhould have heard ſomething more of her, long before now; though our hiſtorians are moſt ſhamefully ſilent. "She ſeems however, ſays Dr. Maſters (Archæology, Vol. II. p. 205.) to have given up all claim to her contract, by retiring to a monaſtery, and devoting herſelf to religion; as ſhe certainly did; by an inſtrument now in being, in Corpus Chriſti College Cambridge; wherein ſhe is ſtiled *famoſa, ac* Deo devota *Eleanora Botelar*: The king married lady Gray, May 1ſt. 1464; and Butler died July 30th. 1466; and was buried in the Carmelites church in Norwich."—From hence then we may ſuppoſe, that this lady fell a victim to diſappointment: that ſhe never was married to Edward, notwithſtanding the inſinuation of a time-ſerving prelate; and now, finding that the king was actually married, and lady Gray acknowledged as his queen, and crowned, ſhe gave up all farther expectations, and retired from the world: whereas, had ſhe been really married, ſhe would undoubtedly have aſſerted her right; and all her friends would have ſupported her in it: It is plain therefore, ſhe was no wife to Edward.

CHAP. II. 1463 the Regency of Scotland; namely that the truce, which was lately ſubſiſting between the two nations, ſhould be prolonged for Forty five years: Edward was the more deſirous of concluding this treaty; ſince by that means he deprived France of the aſſiſtance of an ally, who had always been ready to favour her deſigns upon this kingdom.

In the mean time, on the 11th. of June, being Trinity Sunday, the queen's coronation was ſolemnized with extraordinary pomp and magnificence; and at the ſame time, Sir Richard Woodville, her father, was created earl Rivers; and her ſon, Sir Thomas Gray, was made marquis of Dorſet: and Thirty nine Gentlemen were made knights: all which was looked upon, and poſſibly might be intended, as a triumph over thoſe, who had dared to oppoſe, or even to cenſure his marriage.

Scarce was the coronation ceremony over, when the earl of Warwick returned to England, under all the anguiſh, that indignation, a thirſt of revenge, and an impotence of gratifying it, could create in a mind exaſperated with the ill uſage he had ſo lately met with, and greatly ſenſible

ſenſible of the indignity he had ſuffered: but as he had not an opportunity of breaking out all at once, he had prudence enough to diſguiſe his thoughts, till a proper time, and favorable incidents ſhould give him an advantageous occaſion of diſcovering his deſigns, not only without much danger, but even with hopes of ſucceſs. CHAP. II. 1465

Unwilling therefore to ſhew the leaſt outward ſign of diſcontent, he appeared at court with an unruffled countenance, in hopes that the king would either not penetrate into the darkeſt receſſes of his mind, or think that his late treatment had made no impreſſion on his heart; with this concealed rancour he appeared in the royal preſence; expecting however that the king would of himſelf make ſome apology; and extenuate his fault by acknowledging his error, or pleading ſome excuſe for his weakneſs: but Edward, through his falſe modeſty, or fooliſh pride, never once mentioned the affair to Warwick; nor took the leaſt notice of his late embaſſy; by which means he ſuffered that nobleman to depart from court, with the ſame ſpirit of diſcontent, and diſſatisfaction, that he had brought to it.

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1466 Every thing now tended to increaſe the miſunderſtanding between the king, and this powerful ſubject: the queen likewiſe did not fail to improve the advantage, which her marriage gave her; ſhe was equally careful to procure every favor and grace to her own friends and adherents, and to exclude thoſe of the earl particularly, whom ſhe conſidered as her moſt inveterate and implacable enemy, though he had not at preſent given her any proofs of ſuch animoſity.

Edward likewiſe was jealous of that power, which had placed him on the throne; and was glad to counterbalance the authority of the earl of Warwick, by raiſing up rivals to him among the new nobility; and thus while he indulged his extreme partiality to the queen's relations, he pretended to be guided merely by motives of a national intereſt.

But the antient nobility of England, diſguſted at the ſudden growth, and immenſe power of the Woodvilles, were more generally diſpoſed to ſupport the intereſt of the earl of Warwick, of whoſe frank and open behaviour they were long convinced.

This year was uſhered in by the auſpicious birth

birth of the princeſs Elizabeth, on the 11th of February, Edward's firſt child legitimate, whom Providence was pleaſed hereafter to make the happy inſtrument of Uniting the long maintained diviſions between the Two houſes of York and Lancaſter, by her marriage with Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, the only then ſurviving branch of the houſe of Lancaſter; of Engliſh extraction; and by that means ſtopping that effuſion of the beſt blood of the nation, which had been ſo profuſely ſhed in their cauſe: But this event was not accompliſhed till 1486. CHAP. II. 1467

All this time, king Edward was not only applied to, but even courted alternately by the king of France, and the princes in oppoſition: to each ſide he gave hopes, but declared for neither; well knowing, that the rejected party would become protectors to the houſe of Lancaſter, which was ſtill formidable, though in diſtreſs.

Beſides; Edward had yet another reaſon to with-hold for a time his aſſiſtance to the princes of the league; which was, that Philip duke of Burgundy had, on the 22nd, of March

CHAP. II. 1467 March 1466, propoſed a match between the princeſs Margaret, king Edward's youngeſt ſiſter, and his ſon the earl of Charolois: which was not concluded till the 26th, of September, 1467: as this alliance would be an effectual means to unite that earl to his intereſt, notwithſtanding his relation to the houſe of Lancaſter, the king was deſirous to have it accompliſhed; and in order thereto, he deferred entering into any treaty with France, or the other princes, till this matter ſhould be previouſly ſettled; and which was ſoon after concluded to his ſatisfaction.

In the midſt of theſe tranſactions, and treaties, Philip duke of Burgundy died, on the 15th, of June; and was ſucceeded by his ſon, the earl of Charolois; and the firſt act of ſtate, which the new duke performed, was his ratification of the treaty above mentioned, of which his marriage with the king's ſiſter Margaret was a preliminary article.

The earl of Warwick, who had, ever ſince his return from France, been waiting for an opportunity to revenge himſelf upon Edward, oppoſed this marriage with all his power: In this

this he had a double view; the firſt was to deprive Edward of all aſſiſtance from the new duke of Burgundy: and the other, to prevent the union of thoſe two princes againſt the king of France, whom he deſigned to make the inſtrument of his vengeance; and from whom he expected to receive the greateſt part of his ſuccours. CHAP. II. 1467

Finding himſelf diſappointed in the former of theſe two projects, and growing impatient under that uneaſy ſituation, both of hiding his reſentment, and deferring the gratification of it, he withdrew from court, in order to form a party ſtrong enough to pull down that unworthy man whom he had raiſed; and make his revenge as eminent, as his ſervices.

In this he was encouraged by the great diſcontent, which the king's extreme partiality to the relations, and creatures of the queen, had raiſed among all ſorts of people; for it was about this time, that the earl of Rivers, her father, was made high conſtable, and lord treaſurer; and that the ſeals were taken from the archbiſhop of York, Warwick's brother, and given to the biſhop of Bath and Wells, who was one of her

CHAP. II. creatures: Upon the whole; her friends and relations were the only perſons in favor, and
1467 the only channels to obtain it.

It is ſaid, the earl of Warwick, beſides the provocations given him by the king in his own perſon, and of his brother, had another of a more domeſtic nature, which nearly affected the the honor of his family: he was told, it ſeems, that the king had attempted to ſeduce one of his daughters: whether this was really ſo, or that the known character of the king had given riſe, and currency to this report, the diſpoſition of mind, in which the earl found himſelf with regard to the king, might eaſily induce him to give credit to it.

Early in September this year, the princeſs Margaret, attended by the ducheſſes of Exeter and Suffolk, ſet ſail from Dover to Flanders; and landing at Sluis, was conducted to Bruges; where, on the 26th of the ſame month ſhe was married to Charles, the new duke of Burgundy; and their nuptials were ſolemnized with all poſſible magnificence.

1468 The earl of Warwick, having thus left the court with a reſolution to form a party againſt the king,

king, firſt applied himſelf to his two brothers, the archbiſhop of York, and the marquis of Montague, who were moſt likely to become avengers of his diſgrace, as they had been ſufferers in their own: To theſe two nobles then, he opened himſelf without reſerve; and deſired their concurrence with him in a deſign, which, he told them, he had formed to do juſtice to their family, againſt that moſt ungrateful of men; who forgetting all his obligations to us, and to our family, was every day accumulating different affronts, "Me, ſays he, you know he ſent upon a fool's errant, to France: You, adds he, addreſſing himſelf to the archbiſhop, have been deprived of the ſeals, only to gratify a creature of the queen's: and you, Montague, if you are ſtill ſuffered to enjoy the government of the Northern Counties, take my word for it, it is only till they can find ſome of madam's relations to beſtow it on: Conſider, added he, that princes ſeldom do their favors by halves. becauſe they will leave no room for expectation; but never injuries, becauſe they will leave none for revenge: So that we are reduced to this alternative, either to deſtroy, or be deſtroyed: For my part, I am reſolved to be beforehand with

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him; and make no doubt, but as you are both united to me in blood, and in injuries, ſo you will likewiſe be in your reſolutions and reſentments". The archbiſhop was ſoon prevailed on; but the marquis, who was ſtill in place, raiſed many objections, which he would ſoon have anſwered, had he been as great a ſufferer: however, after ſome reluctance, he was perſuaded to give them his word and honor, that he would obſerve an inviolable ſecreſy, and ſupport them with all his power: but the ſame unwillingneſs, which he diſcoverd from the firſt, attended him in every ſtep he took in perſuance of this engagement; and this equivocal behaviour of his, not only obſtructed every meaſure, that was taken to ſupport the cauſe he had eſpouſed; but ended at laſt in the ruin not only of that, but of himſelf, and his family likewiſe.

After the earl had thus engaged his two brothers, his next attempt was to gain George duke of Clarence, the king's firſt brother, who had long ſhewn a diſcontent, and diſapprobation of the preſent times: The earl, who was perfectly well acquainted with the particular characters and diſpoſitions of every conſiderable

able perſon about court, had for ſome time obſerved a gloomineſs in the duke's countenance; which ſeemed only to wait for an opportunity to break out againſt the great and exorbitant influence of the queen and her relations: and as the king had excluded him from all offices of truſt and profit, and all ſhare in the adminiſtration, he was ſtrongly inclined to join in any oppoſition: his chagrin was ſtill heightened, by the queen's procuring for her brother Anthony Woodville a marriage with the only daughter of the lord Scales, the greateſt heireſs in England; this lady he thought his brother might, with greater juſtice both to her, and his own family, have beſtowed upon himſelf; and the reſentment he entertained againſt the king for his not having done ſo, was proportionable to the injury he imagined he had received. CHAP. II. 1469

This diſpoſition of mind operating with his natural temper, led him quickly to take, and as quickly to change his reſolutions: and this favorable opportunity was ſeized by the earl, and was ſo far improved, as to engage him in his intereſt, but to ſecure him more firmly in it, he gave him his elder daughter, the lady Iſabella

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Iſabella Neville in marriage, with a fortune equal to his birth and expectations: when every thing was ſettled between them, they both ſet ſail for Calais, where his lady and two daughters then reſided; and ſhortly after, the marriage was ſolemnized with all due pomp and ſplendor.

Thus a ſtrong and powerful oppoſition was formed againſt Edward, and his miniſtry: though the deſign of the aſſociates might not at preſent be to dethrone his majeſty, it was hard to ſay, to what violent extremities they might at laſt be driven; and as moſt differences between prince and people, were in thoſe early ages, decided by force of arms, theſe intrigues and confederacies could terminate only in civil wars and commotions.

Whether the king had any intelligence of this confederacy, or whether he only formed his conjectures from this alliance between the earl and duke by this marriage, he looked upon it, not as a bond of union between their two families, but as a league offenſive, and defenſive againſt himſelf; particularly when he found they were both retired to the continent; for the marriage might as well have been ſolemnized

in

in England: however it was, the king acted as if he was desirous of softening, rather than of exasperating the earl; for about this time he made him chief justiciary of South Wales, and soon after seneschal of the whole country. CHAP. II. 1469

However, the earl did not look upon this, as a sufficient atonement for his former disgrace; nor did he make any alteration in his plan, on account of this condescension: for by his directions, his brothers either raised, or fomented a discontent among the people of Yorkshire, by reason of certain contributions, which that county had always voluntarily submitted to, for the maintenance of an hospital, dedicated to Saint Leonard, in the city of York, for the relief of poor people: these contributions, though before chearfully paid, were now so loudly complained of, that it was visible something more was in agitation, than the redress of so trifling a grievance; and that the refusal of these contributions was the occasion, not the cause, of the appearance of at least fifteen thousand men in arms; who marched directly for York, under the command of one Robert Huldurn; in the beginning of October.

Upon

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1469 Upon this, the marquis of Montagne, who was governor of the Northern counties, and at that time actually at York, behaved himſelf in ſuch a manner, as ſurpriſed every body; and among the reſt poſſibly his own brother; for though there was no doubt made, of his having underhand encouraged this rebellion, yet he fell upon the rebels, before the gates of the city: and having defeated them, took Huldurn their leader, priſoner, and cauſed him to be immediately executed, on the ſpot; but ſuffered the reſt to eſcape: This behaviour rather exaſperated, than ſubdued the rebels; for they directly choſe Henry, ſon to lord Fitz-Hugh, and Sir Henry Neville, ſon to the lord Latimer, for their leaders, under the direction of Sir John Conyers: and deſpairing to make themſelves maſters of the city of York, for want of ordnance, marched towards London.

The choice of their leaders, of whom one was nephew, and the other, couſin germen, to the earl of Warwick, together with their marching for the metropolis, left no room to doubt of their deſign.

The news of theſe commotions ſoon reached the

the ears of Edward, who, though he had no suspicion of their being raised, at the instigation of his brother, and the earl of Warwick, yet well knowing that a small spark, when neglected at first, is sufficient to raise a most dangerous fire, immediately sent orders to William Herbert, now earl of Pembroke, and governor of Wales, to march against the rebels: he presently collected an army of Twelve thousand Welchmen; and set out with his brother Sir Richard Herbert; who were joined at Cotteswold in Gloucestershire, by eight hundred archers, under the command of the lord Stafford, of Southwic, who was shortly to be made earl of Devonshire. CHAP. II. 1468

After these two lords had joined their forces, they received advice, that the rebels were upon their march for Northampton; whereupon the lord Stafford, and Sir Richard Herbert were detached with two thousand horse, to observe their motions; who placing themselves in a wood, and having a view of the rebels, as they marched by, took their opportunity, and fell upon their rear: but Sir John Conyers was so well prepared for their reception, that they 1469

were

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were forced to retire with conſiderable loſs.

1469 After this action, the rebels, hearing that a ſtronger reinforcement was coming from London to the earl of Pembroke, changed their route; and, inſtead of perſuing their march to London, turned off to the right, for Warwick; where, though the ſeaſon was not yet convenient for the earl to countenance their undertaking by his appearance in their favor, they were ſure to be well received.

But the earl of Pembroke, impatient to repair the defeat he had lately received, perſued them ſo cloſe, that it was not poſſible for them to continue their march: ſo that they were obliged to halt at Daneſmoor, near Hedgecote, within four miles of *Banbury*, in the month of October: The place where they encamped was a plain, upon which are three hillocks not far diſtant from one another: on the Eaſtern hill encamped the Welch; and on the Southern, the rebels: The earl of Pembroke, and the lord Stafford took up their quarters at Banbury; where a quarrel, which happened between thoſe two noblemen the day before the battle, proved of fatal conſequence to the king's army.

It

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It ſeems, the earl having the command as general, thought fit to ſhew it in diſlodging the lord Stafford out of an inn, where he had a miſtreſs: this was exacted in ſo unſeaſonable a manner by the earl, and ſo precipitately reſented by his lordſhip; that he departed immediately with all his men, leaving the earl far inferior in number to the rebels, and unprovided with any archers, who being armed with bills, as well as with bows; were, according to the diſcipline of thoſe days, always looked upon as the ſtrength of an army. 1469

The rebels were ſoon informed of Stafford's departure; and immediately a ſtrong detachment of them came down from the Southern eminence, where they were encamped, with Sir Henry Neville at their head, and advanced towards the king's army, in hopes of making ſome advantage of this diſſention: but they were received with ſo much ſteadineſs, that many of them were killed, and their commander Sir Henry taken priſoner, whom the royaliſts moſt cruelly put to death; an act, which nothing can juſtify; not even a civil war, which gives a ſanction to almoſt every exceſs: on the contrary, the cruelty of it ſeems in ſome meaſure

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measure to give countenance to the severest retaliation: and one was actually soon after made of this inhumanity; the immediate effect of which was to exasperate the rebels, and give a keener edge to their swords the next day, when the two armies met in a more serious engagement: For having a number of archers with them, and of whom the royalists were totally wanting, by the departure of the lord Stafford, they sent such repeated flights of arrows among them, that they soon drove them from the hill, and compelled them to engage on the plain: where, though the royalists were hard pressed, yet they still maintained their ground; so powerfully were they animated by the example of the earl of Pembroke, and his brother, Sir Richard Herbert, who with his poll-ax in his hand charged through the army of the rebels, and returned unhurt.

Whilst thus both armies fought with great resolution, and victory rather inclined to, than declared for the rebels, fortune effected what courage could not atchieve, and at once decided the contest; for one John Clapham, a retainer to the earl of Warwick, having got together about five hundred men out of Northampton,

ampton, and the adjacent country, appeared that inſtant at the head of them, on the top of one of the three hills, which ſtand on the plain; and his men carrying before them the earl's ſtandard, which was a White Bear, and crying out, a Warwick, a Warwick! the royaliſts concluded, that the earl was come in perſon, with a freſh army to the aſſiſtance of the rebels: upon which they fled in all haſte; and 2,100 of them were killed upon the ſpot; and many taken priſoners; among whom was the earl of Pembroke, and his brother Sir Richard Herbert, who being eſcorted to Banbury, were there beheaded, together with ten other perſons of diſtinction, who had been taken with them: all this blood was ſpilt, to atone for that of Sir Henry Neville, ſo quickly are bad examples both followed, and improved. CHAP. II, 1469

The lord Stafford, who by his idle reſentment had occaſioned this defeat of the king's army, was by his majeſty's orders taken at Brentmarch, by the ſheriff of Somerſetſhire, and beheaded at Bridgenorth.

It ſeems the rebels did not think the cruelty exerciſed by the royaliſts on Sir Henry Neville, ſufficiently

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1469 ſufficiently revenged by the murder of thoſe brave men they had executed at Banbury; a greater ſacrifice was neceſſary to glut their vengeance: after the victory therefore, ſeveral companies of them marching into Northamptonſhire, many of the inhabitants of that county flocked to them, in hopes of partaking of the ſpoils and deſolation, that are generally the conſequence of ſuch inſurrections: Theſe diſorderly people choſe one Robert Hillyard for their leader, and coming to Grafton the ſeat of the earl of Rivers, father of the queen, and formerly the very ſpot of other ſcenes, the cauſe of all this woe; after plundering the houſe (which upon theſe occaſions is never forgotten,) they ſeized upon the earl himſelf, together with Sir John Woodville, one of his younger ſons, and hurrying them to Northampton, cauſed them both to be beheaded. ‡

Theſe cruel executions are always the natural conſequences of a civil war, which next to tyranny, is one of the greateſt ſcourges heaven

‡ Stowe tells us, that Hillyard ſeized the lord Rivers at the Mews, Charing Croſs, and beheaded him at Northampton; which is ſcarce probable to ſuppoſe.

heaven can inflict on any people; ſuch inhu- CHAP. II.
man murders become inevitable, the moment one ſide ſets the example, of putting people to death after the action is over; and teaches their adverſaries, from being ſoldiers, to become executioners. 1469

Poſſibly, the death of the earl of Rivers was not owing ſoley to this ſpirit of making repriſals; but to ſome ſecret directions from the earl of Warwick, who, though he appeared not openly in this action, no doubt privately directed and conducted the whole affair; and was a perſonal enemy to Rivers, and envied him his advancement: but however, let what will have been the cauſe of this cataſtrophe; it certainly originated from the king's unfortunate marriage at Grafton:

En perfecta tibi bello diſcordia triſti!
Dic, in amicitiam coëant, et fœdera jungant;
Quandoquidem Auſonio reſperſi ſanguine Teucros:
Stant belli cauſæ; pugnatur cominus armis;
Talia connubia, et tales celebrent Hymenæos.

Lo I have ripen'd diſcord into war!
Say, let them now agree, and form the league;

Since

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Since Trojan ſwords have ſpilt Auſonian blood:
The war ſtands ſure; and hand to hand they've fought:
Such nuptial rites, ſuch Hymepæal feaſts!

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It is plain, the king aſcribed all this to the event of war; and ſo far was he from ſuſpecting the earl of Warwick to have been any ways acceſſory to the murder of his father-in-law, that ſoon after the earl's return from Calais, in the beginning of February, with the duke of Clarence, he ſent them a commiſſion on the 7th, of March to levy troops againſt thoſe rebels: So very ſecret were they in carrying on their deſigns; or ſo very little was the king upon his guard againſt them: It is poſſible that the marquis of Montague, by his having given a check to the rebellion at firſt, and putting their leader to death, might have been a high ſtroke in policy; and have prejudiced the king in favour of the loyalty of his brother; and have created in him ſo fatal a ſecurity: However that may be, he was certainly at laſt awakened out of it, by the uſe which he found they were making of thoſe very forces, they had

had raiſed, by virtue of his commiſſion, and by their having actually put themſelves at the head of the rebels. CHAP. II. 1469

Yet he now entertained as great an opinion of their weakneſs, as he had before of their fidelity; for he imagined, that deſpairing to decoy a ſufficient number of his Engliſh ſubjects, they were preparing to go over to Ireland, of which the duke was governor: But, in order to render that refuge unſafe, he publiſhed a proclamation on the 23d, of March, by which he conferred the government of Ireland on the earl of Worceſter; and forbade the Iriſh to obey the duke any longer: promiſing at the ſame time a reward of a thouſand pounds per annum; or of ten thouſand pounds in immediate payment, to any perſon, who ſhould take them.

This caution, the only one which the king ſeems to have taken in the whole courſe of this rebellion, proved altogether unneceſſary; for the duke of Clarence was by this time come to Warwick, with a conſiderable army, where he found the earl, who had joined the rebels, under

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der Sir John Conyers, with all the forces he had raiſed by virtue of the king's commiſſion: And by the junction of theſe three armies, the

1469 earl of Warwick was become very formidable; and in a condition, either to wait for the king, who was in full march againſt him; or to attack him in his march, as opportunity might offer. When the king's army drew near, and a battle ſeemed inevitable, many conſiderable perſons on both ſides, being deſirous to prevent an encounter, the event of which was doubtful, propoſed a treaty, wherein an accommodation might be formed of ſuch a temper, as to provide equally for the ſafety of the king, and the earl: the former was unwilling to fight for that, which he was already in poſſeſſion of; and the latter ſhewed ſuch a condeſcenſion, as but ill agreed with the haughtineſs of his nature; and therefore very manifeſtly declared the intention he meditated, by the advantage he took of this treaty. Both the parties being in this diſpoſition of mind, commiſſioners were appointed to treat of an accommodation: The firſt thing they ſettled, on the part of the earl, was the annulling the proclamation, which had been ſo lately made againſt him, and the

duke

duke of Clarence: the reſt of the articles took up ſo much time, that night was haſtening on apace; and the king, not in the leaſt doubting but all would be forthwith concluded, neglected the defence of his camp: and this premature enjoyment of peace in thought, not in reality, coſt him very dear in the end; for the earl of Warwick, having intelligence of this ungeneral-like neglect, whithout ſhewing any regard to the treaty that was ſtill depending, attacked his camp at Wolney, which was but four miles off, and meeting with no reſiſtance, he ſurprized the king in his bed; and taking him priſoner, ſent him to the caſtle ‡ at Warwick. CHAP. II. 1469

This ſudden change of the king's fortune was aggravated by the ſevere reproaches, with which the earl upbraided him, for his ingratitude

‡ Other authors deny this fact, that Edward was a priſoner at this time to the earl of Warwick; and pretend to ſupport their opinion from *Rymer's Fœdera*, without producing either quotation, or reference. If indeed there be any thing in the *Fœdera* to countenance ſuch an opinion, the point muſt given up; but the above account has been taken from the *Acta Regia*, p. 28;, which is conſtructed on the *Fœdera*; and conſequently would not have aſſerted ſuch a tranſaction, if there had been any thing in the *Fœdera* to contradict it.

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tude: a treatment, from which the ſituation of a priſoner, if that of a king was too weak, ought moſt certainly to have exempted him: However the earl ſoon perceived, that the captivity of the king, together with the uſage he ſuffered, began to raiſe pity, even in his enemies, which being added to the zeal of his friends, might poſſibly have effected his enlargement; to prevent this, he cauſed him to be removed, in the night, to Middleham caſtle, in Yorkſhire; where he was committed to the cuſtody of the earl's brother, the archbiſhop of York. ‡

This is the firſt inſtance in hiſtory, wherein the ſupreme head of this, or any other kingdom, was held in confinement by a ſecondary power of the church; and may it prove the laſt!

The conduct of the earl of Warwick on this occaſion is really unaccountable; and puts us in mind of a ſimilar incident in the Roman hiſtory; when

‡ This caſtle of Middleham, which belonged, as we ſhall ſee to the archbiſhop of York, brother to the earl of Warwick, and conſequently of the Neville family, is remarkable likewiſe for being the birth place of Edward, prince of Wales, ſon to Richard III, and nephew to the now impriſoned king.

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when Caius Pontius, general of the Samnites, had ſhut up the Roman army in the ſtraights of Caudium, he conſulted with his father in what manner he ſhould treat them: The anſwer was, that he ſhould *ſuffer them all to depart, unranſomed.* This advice being diſliked, he conſulted him a ſecond time; and received for anſwer, that he ſhould *put them all to death:* Theſe two opinions being ſo very oppoſite, it was thought neceſſary, that the father ſhould explain his opinions before a council of officers; which he did in the following manner: If you *give them their liberty, unranſomed,* (a ſtep which I adviſe you to take) you will thereby confer on a powerful people ſo great a benefit, that you will make them your friends for ever: But if you *put them all to death,* it is true, you will get rid of ſo many enemies for the preſent; but the memory of ſuch an action would rancle to poſterity.—Upon which, his ſon aſked him, if there was no middle way, between theſe two extremes; to give them their liberty, on certain conditions: Then, ſays he, you will neither gain to yourſelves friends, nor deſtroy your enemies.—However, the ſon took this middle way; and ſoon after found his father's prediction verified. 1469

The

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The earl of Warwick ſeems to have acted in a very ſimilar manner; for, if he had given the
1469 king his liberty, and been ſincerely reconciled to him, he might have gained a friend for ever; or if he had put him to death, he would indeed have deſtroyed his enemy, for the preſent, but that would not have ſecured himſelf in future: he did neither: but choſe a middle way, by keeping him in confinement, till ſuch time as he ſhould bring him to proper conditions; by which means, he neither gained a friend, nor deſtroyed an enemy; but irritated and provoked him by ſuch treatment; and left himſelf expoſed to the whole power of his reſentment, if ever he ſhould be ſo fortunate as to regain his liberty, by making his eſcape: he did eſcape; and the earl, when too late, was convinced of his error.

The loſs of liberty was doubtleſs very grievous to a prince, who could not well endure the loſs of pleaſure; but the greatneſs of his ſpirit not only ſupported him under his confinement, but enabled him to bear it chearfully; for during his captivity, he behaved himſelf in ſo engaging, a manner to the archbiſhop, that he preſently gained his confidence; and

and ſoon after obtained leave to hunt in his park, on pretence of health: This permiſſion he at length ſo far improved, as to concert a method for his eſcape with two gentlemen in the neighbourhood, who were in his intereſt; their names were Sir William Stanley, and Sir Thomas Burgh; who came at the time appointed with a number of their friends, far ſuperior to the guards, who attended him; and who, being either bribed, or intimidated, ſuffered them to carry off the king, without any reſiſtance, or alarm. CHAP. II. 1469

The king firſt repaired to York; where he was moſt joyfully received: and from thence he proceeded to Lancaſter: where he found the lord Haſtings; who upon the firſt news of his having regained his liberty, had raiſed a number of friends ſufficient to protect him; and others came daily flocking, in from all parts; with whom he marched directly to London: Here the citizens had prepared a kind of triumph for him; but their joy on this occaſion was more the joy of merchants, than of ſubjects; they were rejoiced to ſee a prince returned, to whom they had advanced conſiderable ſums; and now was in a condition to repay them;

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them; which in his captivity he never could have done: And it is alſo ſaid, that a ſpirit of gallantry had as great an influence in engaging their wives to celebrate his return; for it ſeems, they were much better pleaſed with the gay, and amorous diſpoſition of Edward, than with the preciſe, and prudential behaviour of their former king, Henry; and ſeemed to have done, what the generality of women often love to do, they preferred the ſinner to the ſaint.

The news of all this threw the earl of Warwick into great perplexity; he ſoon foreſaw the ill conſequences, with which it muſt be attended; that now he had all his work to do over again: but the moſt afflicting conſideration was, that theſe ill conſequences were owing to his own miſconduct, and to his want of ſkill in knowing, how to improve an opportunity, which he had in his power once, and might probably never have again: In hopes therefore of repairing by arms, what his defect of policy had loſt, he took the quickeſt method for reaſſembling his troops, which upon his late advantage he had diſbanded; the great preparations of the king ſufficiently informing him what he had to do, and what to expect.

Every

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Every thing ſeeming now to threaten a new war, the ſame perſons, who had been mediators in the former treaty, propoſed a renewal of it: This was readily agreed to on both ſides: An interview between the king, the duke, and the earl, was thought the moſt effectual means, to bring all things to a happy concluſion: but inſtead of that, it rendered it abortive: for men, exaſperated againſt each other, are more apt to employ themſelves in mutual reproaches, than in ſettling the terms of their accommodation; which if once ſettled, and the parties ſhould then meet, whatever provocations they may have received, they are all ſunk in the advantages they expect to gain from their agreement; this would be a means of ſtifling all farther reſentment, and rendering them attentive to their future good. 1469

Had the mediators therefore but firſt ſettled the terms of peace, they might then have permitted an interview, which no doubt would have happily confirmed it; but by meeting firſt, it ended now in nothing but mutual reproaches, mutual defiances, and mutual deſires of revenge.

From

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From this interview therefore, as from a council-board, where a reſolution for war is determined, each of the parties went different ways, to prepare for it: The king going to Canterbury; the duke, and earl, to Warwick.

From Warwick the earl ſent directions to Sir Robert Wells, ſon of the lord Wells, to raiſe forces in Lincolnſhire; which amounted to thirteen thouſand men, ‡ while he himſelf was employed in getting together an army, with which, he and the duke intended to join him.

When the king heard of this, he ſent for the lord Wells, to know more fully the truth of the fact, and to perſuade that lord to uſe his authority with his ſon, to command him to abandon that enterpriſe. But as ſoon as the lord Wells, and Sir Thomas Dymock, his brother-in-law, arrived in town, hearing that the king was violently incenſed againſt them, they both took ſanctuary, in Weſtminſter abby: At laſt, having received the king's promiſe for their ſecurity, they ventured to court; when the king commanded the lord Wells to write to his ſon forthwith

‡ Hume ſays, Thirty Thouſand.

forthwith to quit the ſervice of Warwick; and then immediately on the ſixth of § April, ſet forward with his army towards Stamford in Lincolnſhire, taking the lord Wells, and Sir Thomas Dymock along with him. CHAP. II. 1469

Being arrived within two days march of Stamford, on the 27th, of April, where the rebels lay encamped, the lord Wells received an anſwer from his ſon; in which he not only ſignified his reſolution of perſiſting in his rebellion, but juſtified it: Upon which, the king was ſo far incenſed, that he utterly diſregarded the injuſtice of puniſhing one perſon for the fault of another; and would not ſo much as liſten to the promiſe he had given for their ſecurity; but ordered them both to be beheaded on the 29th, of April, at Queen's Croſs, near Stamford.

Whoever has attended to general Hiſtory, will find, that from the diſſolution of the Roman government, that is, from the extinction of learning, and the loſs of arts and ſciences its offspring, to the revival of them, theſe acts of barbarity were frequently committed by princes;

§ Stowe ſays, the 16th, of March.

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princes; and, what is more extraordinary were generally ſubmitted to by people of all nations;

1469 but ſince the reſtoration of learning, and good manners, both of them have been taught their reſpective duties; princes to make juſtice the rule of their conduct; and people, obedience the meaſure of their duty: From the propagation of theſe glorious maxims, acts of violence and arbitary tyranny are no longer committed by princes; neither are the people to be drawn into rebellions againſt a good prince, by the inſinuations of a diſappointed, diſaffected, or diſcontented nobility.

Sir Robert Wells, being informed of the king's ſeverity, was ſo far tranſported with a deſire of revenge, ſo natural to all men provoked, that he attacked the king in his camp, without ſtaying for the earl of Warwick, who was juſt ready to ſet out with all his forces to join him: but his precipitation ended not only in his own ruin, but in the diſperſion of his whole party: for he himſelf was ſlain with 13000 of his men: and the earl of Warwick, after this loſs, was forced to leave the kingdom with the duke of Clarence, and all his family, in the beginning of May.

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At the time that the earl of Warwick left his government of Calais, and came over to England, in order to put himſelf at the head of the Yorkſhire inſurgents, as above, he made one Vauclair, a Gaſcon knight, his deputy, to whom he committed the care of that important fortreſs, which he conſidered as a place of refuge in caſe of any misfortune in England: Hither the earl bent his courſe, accompanied by the duke, and ducheſs, who was now ready to lie in. 1470

How great then muſt have been their ſurpriſe, to find, that when their ſhip came before the town, and it was known who they were, Vauclair ſhould deny them entrance; and even order ſome pieces of cannon to be fired at their ſhip: Under this uſage, and perhaps the ſooner for it, the ducheſs was delivered of a ſon; afterwards Edward, earl of Warwick, who, at about thirty years of age, and being the only ſurviving branch of the houſe of York, was ſacrifiſed to the jealouſy of thoſe two ſuſpicious princes, Ferdinand of Spain, and Henry VII, of England, in the affair of Perkin Warbeck: It was even with difficulty

ſays

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ſays Philip de Comines, that Vauclair was prevailed on to ſuffer the infant to be chriſtened in the town, and that ſome refreſhments, and two flagons of wine might be ſent to the mother: However he availed himſelf of this ſhort intercourſe, to ſend a truſty meſſenger to the earl; to excuſe the ſevere treatment, which the neceſſity of the preſent juncture extorted from him, contrary both to his duty, and inclination: and to acquaint him, that the inhabitants of the town, and the garriſon with their commander, the lord Duras, being his enemies, he was a loſt man if he landed: and Vauclair adviſed him to go to the French court, and deſire the aſſiſtance of king Lewis; adding, that whenever a proper opportunity offered, he would ſhew himſelf his friend; and that, as he had received the command of the place from him, he ſhould keep it for his ſervice.

Perhaps this Gaſcon played a double part; and determined to join with the ſtrongeſt ſide, whichever the fortune of war might declare for: in the mean time, his conduct was ſo well received by Edward, that he appointed him governor, in the room of the earl; which government

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government was worth 15000 crowns a year; and the duke of Burgundy, to ſhew the ſenſe he had of his zeal for his brother-in-law, ſent Philip de Comines, who was then in his ſervice, to aſſure him of an additional penſion of a thouſand crowns more annually: This, Comines himſelf gives us an account of; who adds that Vauclair was afterwards made knight of the garter.

Warwick was obliged to admit of his excuſes; and, that he might ſeem to accept his proteſtations, followed his advice, by directing his courſe for Normandy; in a few days after, he landed at Dieppe; where he met with a friendly reception from the Baſtard of Bourbon, lieutenant general of that province; from whence he and his ſon-in-law repaired to the court of France, at Amboiſe; where Lewis gave him ſuch a reception, as might be expected from a prince, who had indeed ſome reaſon to hate both Edward, and his brother in-law, the duke of Burgundy.

The arrival of the duke, and earl at the court of France, gave Lewis an opportunity which he had long wiſhed for, of taking revenge

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venge on Edward, for the ſlight he had put upon the lady Bona, his ſiſter-in-law; and of

1470 deſtroying a prince, who alone could aſſiſt the dukes of Burgundy, and Brittany, whom he was endeavouring to ruin: He would not therefore interpoſe in the affairs of England, while the two rival families were contending for the crown; but now, ſince Edward had ſhewn him the way, and had actually ſo far interfered in the quarrel, which had long ſubſiſted between himſelf, and thoſe princes, as to form the ſtricteſt alliance with the duke of Burgundy, by the marriage of his ſiſter Margaret, he was induced by the motives of intereſt, to attempt the ruin of them both, by ſupporting the cauſe of Warwick, and the houſe of Lancaſter.

Beſides; the ſuccours, which Edward was preparing to ſend to the duke of Brittany, plainly ſhewed, that ſo long as he was ſuffered to enjoy the crown of England, the princes of France, his mortal enemies, would always apply to him for relief; but by cutting off that reſource, he ſhould find it an eaſier taſk to ſubdue them all in the end.

Such

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Such are the policies of crowned heads; they regard not the rectitude of a cauſe; only ſo far as it may coincide with, or counteract their own meaſures: Influenced therefore by theſe, and the like conſiderations, Lewis not only received the Engliſh fugitives with great hoſpitality, but alſo promiſed them a powerful ſupply. 1470

That the civil war, which he hoped to rekindle in England, might rage with redoubled violence, he determined, if poſſible, to conciliate an accommodation between Margaret, and the earl of Warwick; well knowing, that two ſuch powers, which had been ſo long at variance, and ſtruggling in oppoſition to each other, if once they could be brought into union, would act with the ſtronger adheſion: and for this purpoſe, he diſpatched a meſſenger to that princeſs, who, as we have obſerved before, had retired to her father's court, after the battle of Hexham.

It muſt be remarked, that Margaret, and her ſon, had for ſeven years together been neglected in France; ever ſince the above mentioned battle

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battle of Hexham; but now, the juſtice of their cauſe, and the weight of their diſtreſs was magnified to the greateſt degree; and the honour of the crown of France was on a ſudden found to be concerned ſo highly, that it could not ſuffer a queen of England, and her ſon to remain in exile; and a princeſs of the houſe of Savoy to be ſlighted with impunity.

This was now the language of the court of France; and Lewis, reſolved to conjoin all the enemies of Edward in one common intereſt againſt him; ſuch a junction at firſt ſeemed ſo unnatural and heterogeneous, that none but their common protector could have dared to propoſe it, and none but himſelf could effect it.

Queen Margaret had but too much cauſe to look upon the earl of Warwick, as the real author of all the misfortunes and calamities, which herſelf, and her family had ſuffered; her huſband was ſtill a priſoner by his means: The earl looked upon her as an enemy, who had ſuffered the greateſt injuries through him; and conſequently muſt have reſolved to revenge herſelf the firſt opportunity: The duke of Clarence had both in his birth and marriage,

all

all the ingredients, that ſeemed moſt capable of forming an irreconcileable enmity with the prince her ſon: And yet all theſe obſtacles were removed at once by the reaſons, or at leaſt by the authority of Lewis; who by his mediation procured a treaty to be made between theſe two jarring powers, on the following conditions; That the duke of Clarence, and the earl of Warwick ſhould employ all their power and intereſt for king Henry's reſtoration both to his liberty, and throne: That the queen ſhould promiſe on her utmoſt fidelity to entruſt the government of the kingdom to them, during the life of Henry, or the regency during the minority of his ſon, in caſe he ſhould aſcend the throne before he ſhould be of age: That if king Henry and his ſon ſhould die without iſſue, the crown ſhould then devolve to the duke of Clarence, and his heirs: and laſtly, in order to ſtrengthen this league of intereſt by the ſtricteſt tie of union, that of blood, it was agreed that the young prince Edward, queen Margaret's ſon, ſhould eſpouſe Anne, the younger daughter of the earl of Warwick, and ſiſter to the ducheſs of Clarence: CHAP. II. 1470

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ence: This laſt article was immediately fulfilled, which ſecured the ſucceſſion of the crown in Warwick's family; for now it could not fail to deſcend to the poſterity of one of his daughters; by which means he became equally allied to both the houſes of York and Lancaſter; his elder daughter being a Yorkiſt; and his younger now become a Lancaſtrian.

But this well laid ſcheme, like moſt other human imaginations, proved abortive; for the children by his elder daughter Iſabella, ducheſs of Clarence, inſtead of inheriting the crown, loſt their lives, by their being ſo nearly allied to it: and by his younger daughter Anne there was no iſſue to inherit; nay what is more extraordinary ſhe herſelf, after the murder of the young prince her huſband, married Richard III, one of his murderers, by whom moſt probably ſhe likewiſe was afterwards prudently diſpoſed of, to make room for his own brother's daughter, the princeſs Elizabeth of York, whom he deſigned to have married, with a view of defeating the hopes of Henry, earl of Richmond; as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

So

So far were the ambitious views of the earl of Warwick from meeting with ſucceſs! However, Lewis was ſo well pleaſed with the treaty and alliance, thus finally concluded under his mediation, that he acquainted his parliament with it; and his queen being about this time brought to bed of the dauphin, afterwards Charles VIII, he choſe young prince Edward for a god-father. CHAP. II. 1470

The duke of Burgundy, who had good connections in the court of France, receiving intelligence of all theſe affairs, ſent an early account of this agreement to Edward, who paid very little regard to the intimation, as to the conſequences of it; imagining that the earl of Warwick, who had been ſo lately forced to leave his native country for want of proper aſſiſtance, could never be able in his abſence to perſuade the people of England to riſe in his favor: and as for all the aſſiſtance he could either beg, or borrow from foreign ſtates, and particularly from France, he was not in the leaſt concerned; well knowing that England could never be ſubdued by any foreign power, unleſs the people ſhould aſſiſt in reducing themſelves to ſlavery.

Thus

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1470 Thus building his confidence on good, yet precarious, principles, the attachment of his ſubjects to his perſon and government, and Warwick's want of credit and influence, he neglected in a great meaſure to take the neceſſary precautions for his own defence, and gave himſelf up without control to all the pleaſures of a licencious, and libidinous court.

While he was thus indulging himſelf in theſe inglorious delights, his miniſters gratified their private reſentments, by ſuch acts of cruelty and oppreſſion, as fixed an indelible mark of infamy on the character of their maſter: John Clapham, the very perſon, who had been ſo inſtrumental to the Lancaſtrians in gaining the victory at Banbury, and was one of Warwick's retainers, with about twenty other gentlemen, happened unfortunately to be taken priſoners in a naval engagement near Southampton; they were condemned as traitors by the earl of Worceſter, conſtable of England; and executed with ſuch circumſtances of barbarity, as are much better omitted, than mentioned; for they always inſpire the ſpectators and readers with the moſt implacable hatred and indignation againſt the perpetrators of ſuch horrid, ſavage ſcenes of cruelty.

All

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All perſons likewiſe of any rank or condition, who were in the leaſt ſuſpected of adhering to the houſe of Lancaſter, were proſecuted, and plundered, forced into ſanctuary, or driven into exile; many of theſe refugees eſcaped into France, and gave an account, of the diſpoſition of the people of England to the earl of Warwick, and his cauſe; whom they earneſtly importuned to return to his native country, where every one wiſhed for his preſence. 1470

However indifferent Edward might be as to the deſigns and preparations of the earl of Warwick abroad, he was extremly ſolicitous to weaken his connections at home, by gaining his two brothers, the archbiſhop of York, and the marquis of Montague; to whom he offered their pardon; which was accordingly accepted, and they were again received into favor: but he did not look upon this, as a counterbalance for the loſs of his own brother Clarence, whom the earl had ſeduced from his allegiance, and now ſeemed to have ſecured by his marriage, and the treaty ſo lately concluded at Amboiſe; by which he, and his heirs male were to ſucceed to the crown, upon the demiſe of Henry, and his heirs male: Edward, I ſay, not look-

ing

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ing upon the acquiſition of Warwick's two brothers as an equivalent for the loſs of his own, reſolved to exert his utmoſt efforts, in order to detach him from his preſent connections with that nobleman; and this he was able effectually to accompliſh; even at the court of France; immediately after the concluſion of the late treaty: under the eye of that great, and cunning politician Lewis XI; under the jealouſy of the active and vindictive queen Margaret; and under the vigilance of that great and conſummate ſtatesman the earl of Warwick.

The inſtrument which Edward made uſe of on this occaſion, to diſengage his brother from the intereſt of the earl, and reunite him to his own, was a female domeſtic, and favorite of the ducheſs of Clarence, whom he found means to gain over to his ſide; this lady happened by ſome accident to be left in England, in the hurry of her miſtreſs's retreat to France: Having furniſhed her with proper inſtructions, ſhe was permitted to follow the ducheſs to the court of France; not doubting but her office, ſex, intimacy, and connexions would ſecure her from the jealouſy of thoſe, whoſe intereſt it was to diſcover, and defeat the deſigns of every ſuſpected perſon.

For

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1470

For this purpoſe ſhe received a paſſport, by virtue of which ſhe was ſuffered to croſs the ſea: As ſhe paſſed through Calais, ſhe told Vauclair, the governor, that ſhe was ſent by Edward to the earl of Warwick, with overtures of accommodation: which falſe confidence ſo far miſled him, that Philip de Comines, being ſent to him about that time from the duke of Burgundy, to deſire him to ſend out of the town ſome perſons, who were in the intereſt of the earl of Warwick, Vauclair adviſed his maſter to ſhew a greater regard to the earl, if he deſired to continue well with the Engliſh nation: which advice was juſtified by the event, though the giver of it was deceived.

Being arrived at court, ſhe firſt (perſuant to her inſtructions) ſounded her miſtreſs; who being by principle attached to the houſe of York, and then ſecretly diſpleaſed with the elevation of her younger ſiſter, who was now by her marriage brought within a nearer proſpect of the throne, than herſelf, and actually did aſcend it, but by a different means, and to whom ſhe found, that upon all occaſions ſhe muſt give the precedence; ſhe therefore undertook

to

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to prepare her husband for any impression her woman was instructed to make, on behalf of his brother.

Accordingly therefore the lady at her very first conference with the duke, represented to him in the name of his brother, that by engaging in the party of Warwick, and promoting the interest of the house of Lancaster, he was furnishing his enemies with arms, which they would sooner, or later, make use of destroy him, and consequently he was but hastening his own ruin; for if the schemes of the earl should be crowned with success, he could not expect, that the family of Lancaster, would repose any confidence in a prince of the house of York; or even suffer him to live, after they should once have accomplished their purpose; for he might rest himself assured, that princes of the house of Lancaster would no sooner be exalted by his assistance, than they would forget the cause of their exaltation, and suffer all their obligations to be cancelled by reasons of state, which would soon inform them, that a prince of the house of York must be sacrifised to maintain that power, he had so fatally contributed to raise: That by suffering a young

prince

prince of the houſe of Lancaſter, and his heirs male, to reign before him, he had degraded himſelf, and poſtponed his own right, which had advanced him ſo near the crown, that there was then only his brother, and his young daughter before him, and ſhe might be removed by a natural death; whereas, by the new ſucceſſion, ſo lately ſettled, and which he had conſented to, and was endeavouring to eſtabliſh, Henry, and his ſon, muſt, and afterwards a whole race of princes, all his enemies, ſucceed to the crown before him: for prince Edward, that Lancaſtrian, was healthy, and in the bloom of youth, and would in all likelihood leave a numerous iſſue: She then aſſured him, that if his brother had been guilty of any diſregard to him, in partiality to the relations of the queen, he deſired the duke would forget, and forgive it; as the king on his part was ready to forget and forgive the aſſiſtance he had afforded to his enemies; and had commanded her to aſſure him, of all the favors that were due to his high rank, and could be expected from the affection of a brother. 1470

Unnatural alliances are contracted with difficulty, maintained with violence, and diſſolved with eaſe; as we may obſerve by the duke's reply;

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to prepare her huſband for any impreſſion her woman was inſtructed to make, on behalf of his brother.

Accordingly therefore the lady at her very firſt conference with the duke, repreſented to him in the name of his brother, that by engaging in the party of Warwick, and promoting the intereſt of the houſe of Lancaſter, he was furniſhing his enemies with arms, which they would ſooner, or later, make uſe of deſtroy him, and conſequently he was but haſtening his own ruin; for if the ſchemes of the earl ſhould be crowned with ſucceſs, he could not expect, that the family of Lancaſter, would repoſe any confidence in a prince of the houſe of York; or even ſuffer him to live, after they ſhould once have accompliſhed their purpoſe; for he might reſt himſelf aſſured, that princes of the houſe of Lancaſter would no ſooner be exalted by his aſſiſtance, than they would forget the cauſe of their exaltation, andſuffer all their obligations to be cancelled by reaſons of ſtate, which would ſoon inform them, that a prince of the houſe of York muſt be ſacrifiſed to maintain that power, he had ſo fatally contributed to raiſe: That by ſuffering a young

prince

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prince of the houſe of Lancaſter, and his heirs male, to reign before him, he had degraded himſelf, and poſtponed his own right, which had advanced him ſo near the crown, that there was then only his brother, and his young daughter before him, and ſhe might be removed by a natural death; whereas, by the new ſucceſſion, ſo lately ſettled, and which he had conſented to, and was endeavouring to eſtabliſh, Henry, and his ſon, muſt, and afterwards a whole race of princes, all his enemies, ſucceed to the crown before him: for prince Edward, that Lancaſtrian, was healthy, and in the bloom of youth, and would in all likelihood leave a numerous iſſue: She then aſſured him, that if his brother had been guilty of any diſregard to him, in partiality to the relations of the queen, he deſired the duke would forget, and forgive it; as the king on his part was ready to forget and forgive the aſſiſtance he had afforded to his enemies; and had commanded her to aſſure him, of all the favors that were due to his high rank, and could be expected from the affection of a brother. 1470

Unnatural alliances are contracted with difficulty, maintained with violence, and diſſolved with eaſe; as we may obſerve by the duke's reply;

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reply; for this repreſentation, and thoſe arguments were ſo obviouſly founded on the real intereſt of the duke, who was naturally of a fickle temper, that he ſeemed leſs to be informed of what he knew not, than put in mind of what he already knew; ſo that without heſitation he agreed to every thing his brother had propoſed; and deſired the lady to aſſure him, that he might depend upon his declaring for him, as ſoon as he could do it with ſafety to himſelf, and advantage to his cauſe: that he was firmly reſolved to return to his allegiance to his majeſty; and would not fail to take the very firſt favorable criſis of appearing openly in his ſervice.

1470

With this anſwer ſhe found an opportunity of returning to the king; who was not a little pleaſed with having thus regained his brother; and deceived the vigilance of ſo many watchful, ſo many cautious enemies: And though the unfortunate turn, which his affairs ſoon after took, deferred the good effects of this negotiation for a time, yet it proved in the end ſo great an advantage to him, that the ruin of the earl of Warwick, and his brothers; the ſending abroad queen Margaret, never more to return; together with the death of Henry VI,

and

and his ſon; and the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the crown for the remainder of his life, muſt be allowed to have been the fruits of this affair, thus tranſacted by this lady: and yet no hiſtorian has been faithful enough to tranſmit her name to poſterity. CHAP. II. 1470

It is very probable, that the confidence the king entertained from this diſpoſition of his brother, made him neglect the repeated advices he received from time to time from the duke of Burgundy, of the great preparations his enemies were making in France to invade the kingdom: for Lewis had actually furniſhed the earl with ſome men and money, and according to his uſual method, promiſed a much larger ſupply of both, with which the queen and her ſon were ſoon after to ſet ſail for England; while the earl, with the duke of Clarence went to Havre de Grace, a town built at the mouth of the Seine, in order to embark on board the fleet, with which the Baſtard of Bourbon, admiral of France, had orders to convey them, and their forces to England.

When they came to Havre, they found the place blocked up by the fleet of the duke of Burgundy;

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Burgundy; who ſeems to have had much better intelligence, than Edward, of all the tranſactions of the enemy; indeed he was nearer to the ſcene of action; for having received immediate notice of all their operations; he had ſent his fleet to wait for the coming out of the French, whoſe ſhips were inferior both in number, and ſize, and therefore were not willing to hazard an engagement.

But, happily for the French, and for the earl, a ſudden ſtorm aroſe, which diſperſed the duke's fleet, and gave an opportunity to Warwick to ſlip out, and get to ſea; which he did immediately; and after a ſhort paſſage, landed at Dartmouth in Devonſhire, about the beginning of October; after an abſence of leſs than ſix months.

Edward affected to rejoice at his arrival, in full aſſurance, that ſo wild a project, as the invading of England with a few Frenchmen, muſt of itſelf come to nothing; and conſequently his enemy would fall into his hands: poſſeſſed with this notion, he in all confidence diſpatched ſome light ſhips, to deſire the duke of Burgundy, that he would keep at ſea with his

his fleet, in order to intercept the earl of Warwick, ſhould he endeavour to eſcape again to the continent. CHAP. II. 1470

But his majeſty was rather too elated; and ſoon found, that he reckoned too prematurely; for he preſently experienced the folly of his preſumption: The earl, as ſoon as he had landed, publiſhed a manifeſto, in the name of Henry VI. commanding all men to take up arms in his defence, againſt Edward, duke of York, a Traitor, Tyrant, and Uſurper: This had ſo ſudden an effect, that numbers came flocking in all haſte; and in a few days he had collected an army of ſixty thouſand men; for he had ſo great an intereſt in the nation, and the people were ſo faſcinated with his name, that, without any diſaffection to the king, or partiality to the houſe of Lancaſter, or any zeal even pretended on his ſide to riſe in defence of their liberties, the common bait to cover ambition, they followed him, becauſe they loved him; he had already led them againſt each of the contending houſes; and if he pleaſed, he might now lead them againſt both.

Edward

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Edward ſo little expected this revolution that he had neglected to keep up an army to be ready at all events: he was therefore obliged to levy new forces, conſiſting of raw and undiſciplined men; theſe he appointed to rendezvous near Nottingham, a place far enough diſtant from Dartmouth, where the earl had landed; but this he might do, in order to gain time for training ſuch new-raiſed forces: and indeed his party was very much diſcouraged by the ſucceſs of the earl of Warwick.

Among the firſt who withdrew from the cauſe of Edward, were the earl's two brothers, the archbiſhop of York, and the marquis of Montague, who had ſo often rebelled, and ſo often been pardoned.

The earl now found himſelf ſtrong enough to advance againſt the king, who was ſtill marching Northward, to ſuppreſs an inſurrection, which had been raiſed by the lord Fitz-Hugh, married to Alice, ſiſter to the earl of Warwick, with a deſign to make a diverſion, in favor of his brother-in-law; and this point he effectually carried; for at the king's approach, he fled into Scotland: and upon this, Edward returned back to Nottingham, in his way to London; but Warwick being determined

mined to attack him, before he ſhould gain the capital, came in ſight of him, within three miles of Nottingham; and immediately drew up his men in order of battle: Edward, finding that his army was much inferior both in numbers, and diſcipline to that of the earl, who had ſo lately been reinforced by a body of ſix thouſand men, under the marquis of Montague, called a council of war; in which the lord Haſtings told him, he muſt not depend upon the fidelity of his troops; for that a great part of them had already deſerted, and no doubt ſtill more would deſert to the earl of Warwick: he therefore adviſed his majeſty to conſult for his own ſafety, by retiring to the ſea ſide, where he might find an opportunity of making his eſcape to Holland. 1470

In this dilemma, as the danger was preſſing, he followed the advice without heſitation, and retreated into Lincolnſhire; but being ſtill perſued by the earl, he could not continue there long: and therefore with the utmoſt precipitation, at midnight, he was forced to paſs the Waſhes, as they are called, which divide that county from Norfolk; being large and broad flats, that are regularly overflowed by

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the tide, and are left dry, or nearly ſo, by the ebb: but being rather too late in his paſſage he loſt his money and baggage in the Waſhes, and had but juſt time enough to eſcape to Lynn, accompanied by his brother Richard, duke of Gloceſter, and eight hundred light horſe: There they lodged for one night, in a caſtle belonging to that place, now in ruins, and ſince known by the name of the Red Mount: In the harbour they found three or four ſhips ready for ſea; and the very next morning being the Third of October, ſet ſail with a ſmall retinue; and having narrowly eſcaped a fleet of Eaſterlings, they landed ſafely at Alcmaer; where Lewis of Bruges, lord of Gruthuyſen, and governor of Holland, delivered them from all farther danger, and conducted them ſafely to the Hague: where he honorably entertained them for ſome time, at his own expence: in expectation of orders from the Duke of Burgundy, who was then ‡ in Flanders.

After

‡ This lord Gruthuyſen was by Edward afterwards created earl of Wincheſter by a patent in the *Acta Regia* bearing date November 23d. 1472; at Weſtminſter; as a grateful return for the kind reception he was pleaſed to ſhew Edward, and his brother Richard, duke of Gloceſter.

After Edward's departure, his forces laid down their arms, and ſubmitted to the earl of Warwick. While the king was thus making his eſcape by ſea, his queen in October fled for ſanctuary in Weſtminſter abby; where ſhe was on the 28th, of the ſame month, delivered of a ſon, named Edward; ill-fated prince! CHAP. II. 1470.

Oſtendent terris hunc tantum fata; neque ultra
Eſſe ſinent; nimium vobis Romana propago
Viſa potens, Superi, propria hæc ſi dona fuiſſent!
Heu, miſerande puer, ſi qua fata aſpera rumpas,
Tu Marcellus *eris!* - - - - - - - - - - -

The fates will only ſhew him to the world;
No more: too great the Roman name would ſeem,
Could ſhe perpetual boaſt ſuch gifts her own! - -
Oh, hapleſs youth, couldſt thou thy fate ſurmount,
Thou ſhouldſt Marcellus *be!*

Æn. VI. 869.

Meanwhile the duke of Clarence, and the earl of Warwick, meeting with no oppoſition, marched to London; where they were received in triumph; and on the ſame day, viz. November the 6th. 1470, they releaſed king Henry

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from the Tower, and replaced him on the throne; after he had been confined a cloſe priſoner for ſeven years: ever ſince his flight from Scotland; after the battle ‡ of Hexham.

In conſequence of this ſtrange and ſudden revolution, which had been accompliſhed in the ſpace of only eleven days from the time of the earl's landing, without bloodſhed, and without ſlaughter, one king had been driven out of his dominions, and another reſtored to his crown; for Edward was driven out of England, and Henry was now releaſed from the Tower; the office of treaſurer beſtowed upon Lanſtrother, prior of St. John's; the poſt of chancellor

‡ Stowe p. 386, gives us the following particulars of the king's releaſe: on the Sixth of October, the duke of Clarence, the earl of Warwick, the archbiſhop of York, the lord of Saint John's, with others, entered the Tower of London, and king Henry being there priſoner, nigh the ſpace of *nine* years, they *elected* him to be their lawful king; and forthwith rode with him through London, to the biſhop's Palace; where he reſted till the Thirteenth of October; on which day he went a proceſſion, crowned, in Paul's church: the earl of Warwick bare his train; and the earl of Oxford his ſword.

cellor conferred on the archbiſhop of York; Warwick himſelf was appointed admiral of England, and the duke of Clarence was created lord lieutenant of Ireland. CHAP. II. 1470

The parliament, which aſſembled on the twentieth of November, declared Edward a traitor, and uſurper; his brother, Richard duke of Gloceſter, was attainted; the crown was ſettled upon Henry, and in default of male iſſue, on the duke of Clarence; who, together with the earl of Warwick, was appointed regent, during the minority of Henry's ſon prince Edward: the eſtates and effects of the late king Edward were confiſcated; all ſtatutes enacted by his authority were annulled: at the ſame time, Clarence was declared heir to his father, the late duke of York, reinſtated in all his poſſeſſions, and favoured with other advantageous grants of fee-farm-rents, manors, and honors, particularly that of Richmond, which was even now the title of Henry Tudor a Lancaſtrian, the marquis of Montague was indulged with a pardon for his adherence to Edward, as he had been lately induged with a pardon by Edward for his former adherence to his own brother Warwick!——ſuch

is

CHAP. II. 1470 is the ſtrange working of theſe political tides, that it is made high treaſon for a brother to aſſiſt a brother; and worthy of the higheſt rewards and honours, for them to oppoſe and proſecute each other, even unto death! and he was now rewarded for his laſt defection with a grant of Wreſel, and ſome other manors; the earls of Oxford, Richmond, Pembroke, and Ormond were reſtored to their eſtates and dignities: All which plainly ſhews, how abſolutely neceſſary it is for every one to ſubmit to the ruling powers, for it is that alone, which can conſtitute * right. while

* This is not a place to make reflections on that Act, which excluded the female branch of the houſe of Lancaſter, when the houſe of York came in only by that line, in default of male iſſue: It is ſufficient juſt to remark, that the parliaments were never free upon this, or any other occaſion, during theſe Civil commotions, when the rights of the two houſes were the ſubject of debate; but always acquieſced in the claim of that power, which happened to gain the preſent ſuperiority: and it is plain, that this parliament acted intirely under the direction of the earl of Warwick; ſince they did not make any one order, but what had been ſettled before at the treaty of Amboiſe: that is, by the agreement between queen Margaret, the French king, the duke of Clarence, and the earl of Warwick: Nevertheleſs we may obſerve, that even in that time, the conſent of parliament was thought neceſſary for ſettling the Succeſſion, and eſtabliſhing the right to the Crown.

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While meaſures were thus concerting in England, for defeating king Edward's hopes of ever being reſtored again to the throne of theſe kingdoms, the duke of Burgundy wiſhed him at leaſt out of his dominions; and Philip de Comines affirms, that the duke ſaid, he had much rather have heard of his death, than of his arrival at the Hague: were we to account for the perplexity under which the duke of Burgundy, who had married king Edward's ſiſter, then laboured, we ſhould enter into a detail of his affairs, which would carry us by much too far: It ſhall ſuffice therefore, only to obſerve, that he was at this time actually at war with Lewis XI. king of France, who had attacked him unawares, and had taken St. Quintin, Amiens, and ſeveral other places from him; therefore he was afraid, if he openly protected his brother-in-law of England, he ſhould by that means oblige the earl of Warwick to join with France againſt him: for this reaſon, he treated Edward, who by this time had repaired to his court, very coolly; at leaſt as to outward appearance; in order to induce the earl of Warwick to believe, that he only gave him protection in his preſent diſtreſs; without entertaining any deſign to aſſiſt him in once more aſcending the throne. Edward

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Edward therefore was not a little chagrined to perceive the duke's policy: his intereſt demanded that ſome great blow ſhould be ſtruck, before the earl of Warwick was too well eſtabliſhed; but this could not be done, without the aſſiſtance of the duke of Burgundy, who at preſent was in no diſpoſition, or rather indeed in no condition, to give it him.

Beſides; the dukes of Somerſet and Exeter, who ſtill remained at his court, and had been there for ſix years, thoſe two diſtreſſed dukes, who had retired to Bruges, immediately after the unfortunate battle of Hexham, earneſtly importuned him to deſert the cauſe of Edward; and yet the duke of Exeter had married Anne, king Edward's elder ſiſter! ſo much have gratitude and brotherly affection to do with politics, and intrigues of courts! nay even this ſhoeleſs, and this ſhirtleſs duke of Exeter, threatened his brother-in-law the duke of Burgundy, his benefactor's ſon, who had married Margaret king Edward's younger ſiſter, and conſequently ſiſter to his own wife; he even threatened him with the ſevereſt effects of king Henry's vengeance: and the earl of Warwick had already ſent a body of ſix thouſand troops

to

to Calais, that they might be ready to join the French, and attack ſome province of the Low Countries, belonging to the duke. CHAP. II. 1470

When the duke of Burgundy ſent Philip de Comines to Calais, to renew the commercial truce between the inhabitants of that town and his Flemiſh ſubjects, he found Vauclair the governor, with his garriſon, and all the burghers, wearing Warwick's device; the device of that very earl, againſt whom he had fired his cannon, and refuſed an entrance into his harbour, and whoſe very government of Calais he now held by virtue of a commiſſion from Edward.

Comines preſently perceived it was impoſſible to ſucceed in his commiſſion, by any other means, than by obſerving, that the treaty having been concluded with England, and not with Edward perſonally, it ought not to be diſſolved by the late revolution: and as this trade was very beneficial to the ſubjects of both nations, the truce was accordingly renewed upon the principles of the former convention.

Edward's genius was much better calculated to figure in adverſity, than in proſperity: he had hitherto continued to make his applications

to

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to his brother-in-law, by the ſolicitations of his ſiſter the ducheſs of Burgundy; perceiving

1470 however, that nothing was to be attained through her mediation, he demanded an interview with the duke himſelf; which the other could not with any propriety refuſe: Edward therefore at this conference, repreſented that delays would be extremely prejudicial to his intereſt; for his credit, and influence in England muſt gradually decline; while that of Warwick would daily be more and more confirmed: that therefore the duke ought either to give him immediate aſſiſtance, or abandon him intirely to his evil fortune. In order to ſtrengthen this argument, he acquainted him with the agreement he had lately made with his brother Clarence: he reminded him of the mutual oath they had taken to aid and aſſiſt each other, in caſe of neceſſity: he begged him to reflect, that by ſupporting him in his diſtreſs, he would act for the intereſt of his own family, which might one day ſtand in need of ſuch aſſiſtance; and, at the ſame time have the glory of reeſtabliſhing a brother-in-law once more upon his throne: he ſolemnly engaged to enter into a ſtrict alliance with him againſt France, as ſoon

as

as he ſhould be reſtored to his ſovereignty: and remarked, that the neutrality, which the duke had hitherto obſerved, could not be productive of any one good advantage; nor even prevent Lewis, and the earl of Warwick from concerting the means of effecting his ruin. That the earl of Warwick can never think himſelf ſafe, while I am in a condition to hurt him; and therefore he will infallibly join France; nay I believe ſuch an alliance has actually been concluded; becauſe he has already ſent over 6000 men to Calais. CHAP. II. 1470

Theſe arguments made an impreſſion upon the mind of the duke of Burgundy; but, as he was ſtill afraid of giving Warwick a pretext for invading his dominions, he fell upon an expedient, by which he was enabled to ſerve the fugitive king, without incurring the reſentment of that powerful nobleman.

He privately advanced 50,000 florins to certain merchants, who fitted out four large ſhips at la Veere, which was a free port in Zealand; and hired fourteen ſtout veſſels, belonging to the Eaſterlings, to convey Edward to England, on the coaſt of which they were directed to continue fifteen days after his landing, in order to conduct

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conduct him back, in case his attempt should prove ineffectual.

1470

The king of England being thus furnished with ships and money, embarked at la Veere; and he had no sooner departed from Holland, than the duke of Burgundy issued out a proclamation, prohibiting all his subjects on pain of death from affording him any assistance, either directly, or indirectly.

But if Edward's enterprize had happened to have failed, this artifice, weak indeed in itself, would not have deceived the earl of Warwick; who at this juncture agreed to a long truce with Lewis, which was to subsist in the place of an alliance, that could not be immediately concluded, on account of Henry's pretensions to the crown of France; and on the 16th. of February, the earl sent the prior of the order of Saint John of Jerusalem, to convey queen Margaret, and her son the prince of Wales, with his new espoused bride into England.

Edward in the mean while setting sail from la Veere with the lords Hastings and Say, and about two thousand men partly English, and partly

partly Flemings, attempted a deſcent upon the county of Eſſex: but finding that coaſt ſtrongly guarded by a brother of the earl of Oxford, he directed his courſe towards the North; and at laſt after many difficulties, and an abſence of only ſeven months, he landed at Ravenſpur in Yorkſhire, on the 12th, of March ‡: exactly at the ſame place, where Henry IV had landed ſeventy-two years before, when he returned from exile in the time of Richard II, in 1399: Edward was in hopes the people of thoſe parts would flock to his ſtandard, as ſoon as he produced the letters of invitation, which he had received from the earl of Northumberland. CHAP. II. 1470

But, though he and his forces, were ſuffered to land, without any oppoſition, yet he found but a very indifferent reception; for the inhabitants of Holderneſs took up arms, with intent to give a check to his progreſs; looking upon his arrival as the cauſe of more deſolation

‡ It is very remarkable, that two of our kings, Henry IV, and now Edward IV, ſhould have come from France, both of them land at the ſame place; both of them make the ſame ſolemn proteſtation, that they came not to diſturb the reigning king, but only with intent to recover each his own private inheritance; that, both of them ſhould afterwards break thoſe oaths; dethrone the reigning kings; and aſſume the regal power to themſelves.

CHAP. II. and bloodſhed; as indeed the event moſt fatally proved.

1470 He was likewiſe informed by his emiſſaries, that the people of York, though the very county from whence he derived his title, were by no means diſpoſed to acknowledge him as ſovereign of England: he therefore took a ſtep, ſo extraordinary in its nature, that poſterity will ſcarce give any credit to the relation; he declared himſelf a liegeman of king Henry!—to ſuch mean artifices can even crowned heads ſtoop, in order to obtain their purpoſes! and thus by a voluntary act he degraded himſelf from a king, to a vaſſal! but when once a crown is in view, every act of diſſimulation, and every act of condeſcenſion muſt be ſubmitted to: and yet at the ſame time he aſſumed the badge of the prince of Wales, which is an Oſtrich feather: but how ſuch an aſſumption could be able to conciliate the favor of the inhabitants of Yorkſhire, muſt be left to himſelf to determine.

Truſting however to the effect of this declaration, and confiding in the attachment of the people of York, of which he was intirely ſure, though the magiſtrates were devoted to Warwick, he mrached towards that city; but was viſited by a deputation of the aldermen who begged

begged he would take ſome other route, that they might not be reduced to the diſagreeable neceſſity of refuſing him admittance. In order to gain their confidence, that is, in order to deceive them, he once more renewed his former declaration; and expoſtulated with them, in a gentle manner, upon the cruelty of denying him admittance into a city, whoſe very name he bore, and from which alone he derived his title, and on which he had conferred ſo many favors: But he confided much more in the affection of the citizens, than the power of his eloquence; and he was not diſappointed in his expectations: his friends raiſed an inſurrection in the city; Edward appeared in ſight immediately, to ſecond their endeavours; and at laſt the magiſtrates, unable any longer to reſiſt the torrent, went forth to offer him the keys of the city, and ſtipulate for the ſecurity of their lives and properties. CHAP. II. 1470

Edward moſt readily conſented to their propoſals; for he always knew when, and how to comply: and being received into York, he alighted at the Cathedral; where, by a ſolemn oath he ratified his former proteſtations, that he would preſerve his loyalty and allegiance to

CHAP. II. king Henry,—and diſpoſſeſs him of the throne as ſoon as poſſible!—what a hard thing it is, 1470 that religion, and the moſt ſolemn obligation of an oath, muſt be made uſe of, as the means of obtaining any baſe, and iniquitous purpoſe!—but with regard to the recovery of his private eſtate, he was very ready and willing to leave it intirely to the deciſion of parliament;—which had already diſpoſed of it to his younger brother, Clarence. In the treaty of accommodation between himſelf and Warwick, he plainly diſcovered an unwillingneſs to fight for that, which he was already in poſſeſſion of; but now he ſeems to be deſirous of ſtruggling hard for that, which is not his; but has been given to another, and confirmed by parliament;——yet he is willing to leave it to the deciſion of parliament! ſuch reaſonings are fit only to amuſe children in a nurſery.

Let us however now ſee what will become of his oaths and his proteſtations: Edward having thus made himſelf maſter of York, his friends repaired to his ſtandard from all quarters, and in great numbers; till at length, when he had collected a conſiderable army, he left a ſtrong garriſon in the place, and directed his march towards London.

The

The news of Edward's landing, and progreſs in York had no ſooner arrived at London, than commiſſions of array were iſſued to the duke of Clarence, (another deceitful monſter:) and the earls of Warwick and Pembroke (now of the Tudor family) for levying forces in order to oppoſe the invader; and the marquis of Montague, warden of the Scottiſh marches, was ordered to intercept him, before his arrival at York, and before he had aſſembled ſo numerous an army.

Whether this nobleman, (for he likewiſe had his feelings,) had entered into any new agreement with Edward, againſt his own brother Warwick; or whether he wavered in his reſolution between a weak prince already on the throne, and a powerful competitor, with whom he hoped one day to be united in the ſtricteſt alliance, (ſtricter than that of brother) by the completion of a marriage, that had formerly been propoſed; certain it is, that he continued quiet in his camp at Pontfract, and ſuffered Edward to paſs unmoleſted, within four miles of his ſtation.

Being arrived at Nottingham, he was i

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mediately joined by Sir William Stanley, Sir Thomas Burgh, and many other gentlemen, with their vaſſals and dependents: Encouraged by theſe ſuccours, he openly avowed his claim to the crown; which but three days ago he utterly renounced in the cathedral at York! but York cathedral was not at Nottingham; and yet nevertheleſs his numbers were daily increaſed, during his march towards London.

In the mean time, the earl of Warwick, having aſſembled a body of forces, proceeded to Leiceſter, in order to join his brother Montague: and hearing that Edward had taken the road to Coventry, he directed his march thither, with a view to give him battle.

When the armies came within ſight of each other, Warwick received a letter from the duke of Clarence, acquainting him, that he was advancing by long and haſty marches to join him,——and deſert him,——and begging that he would not venture an engagement with Edward, till he ſhould arrive with his forces.

In conſequence of this requeſt, Warwick changed his reſolution, and ſuffered his adverſary to continue his march to London; imagining

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gining that the citizens would hold out, until he ſhould come to their aſſiſtance.

But in this expectation he was fatally diſappointed; for now again Edward, as he had only two years before, entered the metropolis on the 11th of April, amidſt the moſt joyful acclamations; the reaſons of their rejoycings were the ſame now, as then; a ſpirit of ſelf intereſt on the part the citizens, and a ſpirit of gallantry on the part of their wives: Edward however had but juſt time to ſhew himſelf to the citizens of London; for notwithſtanding theſe fortunate circumſtances, his attempt would probably have proved unſuccesful, had not the archbiſhop of York, (another delightful character,) who had lately made his peace with Edward, and in whoſe hands the perſon of Henry, as before the perſon of Edward had been entruſted, betrayed the intereſt of his brother; and delivered up Henry to Edward, who committed him once more to the Tower.

This ſeems to have been the conſtant and perpetual fate of the earl of Warwick, that worthy and upright man, who is the only character throughout this whole drama, who has acted

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acted with ſteadineſs and firmneſs to his firſt principles; and yet he has been already, four times miſerably betrayed, and will be preſently, for the fifth time moſt fatally deſerted for the laſt.

Edward's whole dependence was not intirely on the citizens of London; the earl of Eſſex, and ſome other noblemen wiſhed well to his cauſe; and the ſanctuaries, and franchiſes of London and Weſtminſter, contained above two thouſand of his adherents, including four hundred knights and gentlemen; ready to take up arms in his behalf.

Among the number of thoſe who had retired to ſanctuary for protection, was the queen herſelf, who by this fortunate revolution was once more reſtored to her liberty and crown.

In the mean time, the earl of Warwick, being reinforced by his treacherous ſon-in-law Clarence, and his fickle brother Montague, directed his march towards London; and on the thirteenth day of April, encamped on Gladmore heath a mile North of *Barnet*, and about Ten miles from London: the town itſelf being occupied by the troops of Edward, who had come

come thither, in order to give him battle; Edward entered the town of Barnet in the evening; where his people was much inclined to ſtay and refreſh; which he would not ſuffer, but ordered every man away to the heath: Both armies approaching the field the night preceding the action: Edward's came laſt; and through the darkneſs of the night, he could not diſcover the exact poſture of the enemy; but by miſtake, he pitched his camp rather aſlant, than fronting Warwick's forces: He enjoined ſilence, as he was ſo near; and fortified his camp, for fear of a ſecond ſurpriſe: Both armies had artillery; but Warwick's was the better ſerved; and played upon the royal army during the whole night; it did however little, or no execution; either through the unſkilfulneſs of the engineers, or rather perhaps becauſe Edward was too near, the ſhot flew over him. Each army conſiſted of about 10,000 men.

In conſequence of a promiſe which Edward had received from Clarence, as a renewal of his engagement to the lady, while at the court of France, that he would deſert to him with all his forces, on the firſt favorable opportunity

of

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of appearing openly in his ſervice, that fatal criſis was now arrived; for in the night before
1470 the action, as all deeds of wickedneſs are generally tranſacted in the dark, Richard, duke of Gloceſter, a character as dark as Erebus itſelf, having intelligence, where Clarence was, ſtole without any followers to his tent; where the two iniquitous brothers embraced with all the marks of the ſincereſt cordiality and friendſhip; and after having concerted the whole plan, and drank a cup of Sack over their conference, they marched off towards Edward's camp, with about Three thouſand of the beſt troops: And then immediately after the ſhameful deſertion, Clarence ſent a meſſenger to Warwick, to make an apology for the ſtep he had taken; but to acquaint him, that he had obtained a promiſe from Edward, (as if a promiſe could bind a man, whom an oath could not!) that he would likewiſe grant him a pardon, on his ſubmiſſion.

A noble and generous diſpoſition will always riſe with indignation at ſuch propoſals; and therefore the earl, either ſuſpecting the ſincerity of Edward, or thinking himſelf ſtill ſtrong enough to make head againſt him, rejected his meſſage with the diſdain it deſerved.

Warwick

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Warwick gave the command of the right wing to his brother John Neville, marquis of Montague, who had won the battle of Hexham; but changed ſides, and no doubt had found means to convince his brother of his fidelity, and that he was firmly reſolved to ſtand by him to the laſt extremity: John de Vere, earl of Oxford, aſſiſted by John Holland, earl of Exeter, who had married Anne, eldeſt ſiſter to king Edward, commanded the left: The center were archers, commanded by Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerſet: Warwick himſelf conducted the rear.

The whole van of Edward's army was commanded by Richard, duke of Gloceſter, who was now only Eighteen years of age; which proves the high opinion king Edward entertained of his talents, and confidence in his martial knowledge; and yet this was the firſt battle in which he *fleſhed his maiden ſword:* Edward himſelf, aſſiſted by the duke of Clarence, whom he had but juſt now recovered out of the hands of Warwick, commanded the ſecond line, in which he placed king Henry, having brought him out of the Tower on purpoſe to be ſhot at; Lord Haſtings led the rear: Excluſive of

theſe Three lines, Edward had a body of re-
1470 ſerve, for occaſional uſe, which really proved of great ſervice.

Edward and Warwick encouraged their men with all the eloquence they were maſters of; and both of them were good orators, as well as good ſwords-men.

Early in the morning at break of day, on the fourteenth of April, being Eaſter Sunday, the battle of *Barnet* began with incredible fury on both ſides: The troops of Warwick, though they were inferior to the enemy in number, yet fought with the moſt deſperate reſolution; being conſcious, that they ſhould ſuffer as rebels, if taken alive; and the earl himſelf was determined either to conquer, or die on the ſpot.

Such was their impetuoſity, that Edward's whole firſt line was forced to give way; and ſome of the horſe gallopped full ſpeed to London, and alarmed his friends with the news of his defeat: In this critical juncture, he commanded his body of reſerve to advance, and attack the enemy in flank; and this attempt

was

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was the more ſucceſsful, as the earl of Oxford had perſued the Yorkiſts to ſuch a diſtance, that he had left Warwick's main body quite defenceleſs: Oxford however had no ſooner recollected this circumſtance, than he wheeled about in order to recover his former ſtation; and that very movement occaſioned the loſs of the battle; for it happened unluckily, that the device of his arms and enſigns was that of a Star, irradiating from a center; and Edward's was that of a Sun, ſhooting out beams from every part; the diſtinction between theſe two devices could not be diſcerned through the foggy medium, which happened at that time to fill the air; when Warwick's troops, perceiving Oxford's Star coming towards them, miſtook it for Edward's Sun, and immediately attacked their own friends, many of whom were killed, before Oxford could convince them of their error; whoſe men now finding themſelves attacked by their friends, ſuſpected they were betrayed, and fled towards the enemy with great precipitation; and other parts of Warwick's army ſeeing them fly, imagined that they had been charged in the rear, and of conſequence that they themſelves were ſurrounded; this threw them all into a general conſternation

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nation and terror; the panic ſpread from rank to rank, and total diſorder and confuſion followed.

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Edward that moment improved this favorable confuſion; renewed the charge with freſh vigour, and attacking them in flank, put them intirely to the rout: Warwick in vain did all that valour could do; he exerted his utmoſt efforts to rally and encourage his men.

In former battles he had generally fought on horſeback, that he might be ready in every part, and repair to different places of the action, as circumſtances might require, with the greater expedition; but on this unfortunate day, unſurmountable fatality had ſo blinded him, that he had ſent off all his horſes, and reſolved to fight on foot, that his men might ſee he was determined to ſhare the fate of every common ſoldier: a fatal reſolution in a general! for this, inſtead of being of any real ſervice, contributed to his defeat; becauſe he could not be preſent, where his direction and aſſiſtance were moſt required; and becauſe his men could not all of them be animated by the ſight, and the preſence of their commander, under whoſe eye they believed themſelves invincible.

At

At length, after having performed every thing that could be expected from the moſt conſummate general, and the moſt undaunted hero, in ſeveral fruitleſs attempts to recover a loſt day, he ruſhed into the thickeſt of the fight, and fell a victim to the fury of his enemies, covered with wounds; and his brother Montague, faithful in death, endeavouring to ſupport him, met with the ſame fate. CHAP. II. 1470

The death of the two generals put an end to all farther oppoſition; and about noon, Edward had gained a complete victory over his enemies; 10,000 of whom were killed in the action; though the ſlaughter would not have been ſo great, had not the gentle king commanded his ſoldiers to give no quarter.

Such was the fall of Richard Neville, the famous earl of Warwick, who in fortune, power, influence, and integrity, was the greateſt ſubject that ever appeared in England; his frankneſs, generoſity, and liberality were beyond example §, he was certainly a nobleman of the moſt diſtinguiſhed abilities; and had he been more

§ It is ſaid, that any ſoldier might go into his kitchen and take away as much meat as he could carry off on the point of his dagger; which is a ſtrong proof both of the hoſpitality of Warwick; and the ſimplicity of the age in which he

more faithfully ſerved by thoſe in whom he confided, the family of York would not have triumphed over that of Lancaſter; but it was his misfortune, as we have already ſeen, to have been connected with treacherous friends, and deceitful relations; and in ſuch caſes, no integrity is able to ſupport itſelf, but muſt, as his did, ſink in the day of danger.

After this fatal battle, the earl of Oxford eſcaped into Wales, where Jaſper Tudor earl of Pembroke was employed in leveying troops for the ſervice of Warwick; the duke of Exeter was deſperately wounded, ſtripped, and left for dead on the field, the carnage of which was great; there he lay till the evening; and that very ſituation ſaved his life; for the cold of the night prevented his wounds from bleeding too much; and in the morning he was juſt able to crawl to the houſe of a neighbouring peaſent, where his wounds were very humanely dreſſed;

le lived: no leſs than 30, 000 perſon are ſaid to have daily lived at his board, in the different manors and caſtles he poſſeſſed in England. And we are told by Baker, that they conſumed daily ſix Oxen at a breakfaſt, beſides other proviſions.

§ Hutton, Introduction XXXIV, tells us, an Obeliſc has been erected by Sir Jeremy Sambroke upon Gladmore heath, in 1740, to commemorate the battle, with this Inſcription; as in the following page

dreſſed; but he was ſome time after ſeized, and committed to the † Tower. CHAP. II. 1471

Nor did Edward obtain altogether a bloodleſs victory; for he loſt the lords Cromwell and Say, the eldeſt ſon of the lord Montjoy, Sir Humphry Bourchier, ſon of the lord Berners, and about fifteen hundred men.

Immediately

HERE WAS FOUGHT
THE FAMOUS BATTLE,
BETWEEN
EDWARD IV,
AND
RICHARD EARL OF WARWICK,
ANNO 1470;
IN WHICH
THE EARL WAS DEFEATED,
AND
SLAIN.

He tells us likewiſe, that the keeper of the Red Cow, near the Obeliſc, has preſerved a ball, of a pound and an half weight, which he dug out of the ground.

† Some hiſtorians tell us, that after he had recovered from his wounds, he retired for refuge to ſanctuary at Weſtminſter:—however that may be, I am unable to ſay; but in the *Acta Regia*, p. 292, there is an order to pay certain ſums of money for the keeping of queen Margaret, and the duke of

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Immediately after this battle of *Barnet*, Edward returned to London, whither he had cauſed the bodies of Warwick and Montague to be conveyed, and expoſed to public view in the cathedral of Saint Paul's; after which they were ſolemnly conveyed to Biſham in Berkſhire, and honorably buried in the pirory founded there by their anceſtors of the houſe of Montague.

As for the poor and unfortunate king Henry, who had been delivered into the hands of Edward, by the archbiſhop of York, another of Warwick's brothers, having eſcaped being killed in the late battle, was committed once more, and for the laſt time, to his old apartments in the Tower. Though Richard had now for the firſt time drawn his victorious ſword, he was not ſo ſoon to ſheathe it: The battle of Barnet had been fought on Eaſter-Tueſday; news was ſhortly after brought to Edward, that the very day before the battle, queen Margaret, after a tedious and dangerous voyage, had landed at

of Exeter, who were priſoners in the Tower: which order is dated June 24th, 1471, about ſix weeks after the battle of Tewkeſbury; as we ſhall ſee preſently: ſo that it is plain the duke was not in ſanctuary at that time.

at Weymouth in Dorſetſhire, attended by the prince of Wales, and his bride; and the duke of Somerſet, with a ſmall body of French forces. CHAP. II. 1471

Two days after the battle, ſhe was informed of the captivity of her huſband, the deaths of Warwick, and Montague, with the total overthrow and diſperſion of all their forces: This reverſe of fortune ſo aſtoniſhed her, that all her former magnanimity and courage ſeemed at once to have forſaken her; ſhe was overwhelmed with grief, vexation, and deſpair; ſhe fell into a ſwoon, from which it was with great difficulty, that ſhe could at length be recovered; and was faintly led away to ſanctuary, with her ſon, in the abby of Beaulieu in Hampſhire.

It was not long however, before her ſpirits were recruited; and her firm, undaunted mind, like ſtrong elaſtic bodies, received a higher bound from the colliſion of theſe dire events; particularly when ſhe found herſelf ſupported by the duke of Somerſet, John Courtney, earl of Devonſhire; viſcount Beaumont; the lord Wenlock, Sir Hugh Courtney, Sir John Beaufort; and many other gentlemen, with their vaſſals, and dependents.

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Encouraged by theſe reinforcements, ſhe preſently quitted ſanctuary, and appeared in the field with ſo ſtrong a body of forces, that Edward, who thought by his late victory at Barnet, that he had eſtabliſhed his throne on a ſolid foundation, now ſaw himſelf obliged once more to hazard the poſſeſſion of it, on the riſk of another battle.

The troops of Margaret increaſed daily, as ſhe marched through the counties of Devon, Somerſetſhire, &c. at laſt ſhe arrived on the unfortunate confines of *Tewkeſbury* in Gloceſterſhire, from whence ſhe judiciouſly intended to proceed into Wales, in order to be joined by Jaſper Tudor, earl of Pembroke: But the completion of this ſcheme was prevented by the vigilance and activity of Edward; who loſt no time, the moment he heard ſhe was landed; but immediately proſcribed her and all her adherents, and ſet out, *(nec mora, nec requies,)* directly for the banks of the Severne.

As Margaret had formerly, after the battle of Wakefield, been denied admittance into London, ſo now ſhe was refuſed admittance into Gloceſter; and as then, ſo now, ſhe had not time to wreck her vengeance on the inhabi-

tants

tants for this inſult, becauſe ſhe earneſtly wanted to get into Wales; and therefore marched on with all expedition to *Tewkeſbury*, with a deſign to croſs the river Severne at that place: but Edward perſued her ſo cloſely, that ſhe could not attempt to croſs that river, without expoſing herſelf to intire deſtruction: it was therefore determined in a council of war, to intrench themſelves immediately in a park adjoining to the town; and continue in that poſition, till they ſhould be joined by the earl of Pembroke, of whom they had received intelligence, that he was by forced marches making all expedition towards them. CHAP. II. 1471

This ſcheme they directly began to put in execution; but before they had proceeded far in it, Edward appeared in ſight, on the 9th, of May, only twenty days after the battle of Barnet; and ſeemed reſolved to attack them, by the manner in which he approached; for he came on in three lines; the firſt of which was commanded by his victorious brother Richard duke of Gloceſter; and the center by himſelf and Clarence; and lord Haſtings commanded the third.

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The duke of Somerſet arranged the queen's army in three lines, behind thoſe intrenchments, that had been caſt up; and he himſelf took his ſtation in the front line, that he might withſtand the firſt aſſault of the enemy, which he doubted not, would be furious, the ſecond line was conducted by the lord Wenlock, under the prince of Wales, who was conſidered as commander in chief; and the third was headed by Courtney, earl of Devonſhire.

Before the attack began, Edward obſerved that Somerſet had left ſeveral openings in the intrenchment, through which he intended, if a favorable opportunity ſhould offer, to ſally forth upon the aſſailants; and being no ſtranger to the hot, and impetuous temper of that nobleman, he adviſed his brother Gloceſter, to make the attack furiouſly, and after a ſhort attempt, begin to give way a little, and then retreat with precipitation, till he ſhould have inveigled Somerſet from his intrenchments; and when he perceived he had fairly got him at a proper diſtance, in the open plain, then ſuddenly to halt, face about, and return to the charge with redoubled vigour; in which inſtant he might be ſure of being properly ſupported.

Richard

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Richard moſt joyfully embraced the hint, becauſe there was ſomething of treachery in the execution of it; and he accordingly performed it to perfection; for, being thus tutored, he attacked the intrenchments with impetuoſity; and meeting, as he expected with a very warm reception, began to retreat, faintly at firſt, but afterwards in earneſt, and in ſuch apparent hurry and confuſion, that Somerſet really imagined they actually fled; and was ſo raſh as to quit his intrenchments, as Edward thought he would, and perſue them into the open plain, leaving orders to lord Wenlock to follow, and ſupport him, in caſe of neceſſity. 1471

The duke of Gloceſter, having thus decoyed the enemy from their intrenchments, and got them now at his mercy, followed the inſtructions his brother had given him; ſuddenly ordered his troops to halt, recover their ranks, and face about: this they took for a preſage of victory; they performed it with alacrity, and ſtood firm to receive their perſuers, who began to ſuſpect ſome treachery; but they were got too far to recover their former ſtation, and therefore were obliged to make a ſtand in the beſt manner they could; for now Richard led

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his men on to the charge, to the great terror, and amazement of the Lancaſtrians; who were ſo confounded at this unexpected event, that they ſcarce waited for the aſſault, but fled towards their intrenchments with the greateſt precipitation; which they could not gain, before numbers of them were cut off; and the duke of Somerſet, the moment he entered, perceiving that the lord Wenlock had not advanced a ſtep towards the ſupport of the firſt line, as he had left orders for him to do, he was ſo enraged, that he rode up full ſpeed to him, and cleft his head with a battle ax.

The duke of Gloceſter entered the intrenchments pell mell with the enemy, killing all before him, and committing a moſt terrible carnage.

The young prince of Wales, now ſeeing the whole army thrown into the utmoſt confuſion and diſorder, did not know what courſe to perſue; and the duke of Somerſet's paſſion was ſwelled to ſuch a pitch of fury and madneſs, that he was rendered altogether incapable of taking the neceſſary orders, for reducing his troops to any command: In this inſtant king Edward likewiſe had entered the intrenchments, and

and that at once decided the fate of the battle; for now a general carnage followed: the firſt diviſion of the queen's army was intirely defeated with great ſlaughter; the ſecond and third lines were all huddled together, and nothing was ſeen but rout and confuſion among them; they endeavoured to ſave themſelves by flight, without ſo much as ſtriking another ſtroke; but that was now impoſſible, the enemy preſſed ſo cloſe upon them. CHAP. II. 1471

The earl of Devonſhire, and Sir John Beaufort were found among the ſlain, who amounted to at leaſt 4000 men: the duke of Somerſet, the great prior of St. John, and fifteen officers took refuge in the abby church; hoping they ſhould be ſafe in that ſanctuary: Edward perſued them with his ſword, but was ſtopped in the porch by the prieſt, who preſenting the hoſt, would not ſuffer him to defile the church with blood; a ſtriking inſtance of eccleſiaſtical power: nor would he ſuffer him to enter it, but on his promiſing a pardon to the refugees: Edward ſheathed his ſword; promiſed pardon; and entered to the refugees: where ſtaying with them a ſhort time, he retired: this was on Saturday, the ninth of May; but on the Monday

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day following he broke his promiſe, had them every one dragged from their aſylum, and brought to the block.

The prince of Wales being taken priſoner in the intrenchments, by Sir Richard Crofts, was brought into the preſence of Edward, who with a haughty, and ſupercilious air, aſked him, how he dared to invade his dominions? The young prince, more mindful of his high birth, than of his preſent ſituation, replied, that he had come to recover his father's liberty, and that crown which Edward had uſurped.

This anſwer, which from a perſon of maturer judgement would have been extremely imprudent, if not impertinent, conſidering his preſent condition, might have been excuſed, on account of his tender years, he being now ſcarce nineteen years old; but Edward, regardleſs of this circumſtance, and unconſcious of his dignity, was incenſed to ſuch a degree, that he ſtruck the young prince on the face with his gauntlet ſo violently, as to cauſe the blood to guſh out at his mouth: and this ſeems to have been a preconcerted ſignal for the dukes of Clarence and Gloceſter, the lord Haſtings, and Sir

Sir Thomas Gray, ſon of queen Elizabeth by her former huſband; all of whom inſtantly fell upon him, like ſo many wild beaſts, and ſtabbed him to death ‡ with their daggers. CHAP. II. 1471

Such

‡ This unhappy bud of royalty, ſays Hutton, p. xi. ſon of a moſt unhappy father, was thus cut off from the antient ſtem of the Plantagenets in the very ſpring of exiſtence; a fine figure of Eighteen, and had no greater funeral honours paid him, than to be flung into a large hole, dug in the monaſtery of Tewkeſbury, there to ferment and mingle with the bodies of thoſe common ſoldiers, who had been killed in the field of battle.

It is really ſurprizing to find three of our beſt writers upon this incident, viz. Mr. Walpole, Dr. Maſters, and Mr. Hutton, endeavouring to exculpate Richard from this murder: the Dr's argument, I muſt own ſurprizes me moſt; for he ſays, (Archæology Vol. II. p. 200) "If however the "duke of Gloceſter had any ſhare in this tranſaction, he "could be but one among many; and therefore the whole of "the guilt ought by no means to be placed to his account."

All this amounts to juſt nothing: for it amounts to only this, that ſince Richard was only one of the Four, he can be ſaid to have killed but a quarter part of him: and therefore *the whole of the guilt ought not to be placed to his account:* grant it: but in that quarter part, the moſt mortal ſtab might have been given, by the hand of Richard: Nay his very being in preſence, and ſtabbing at all, (though it were only by giving him *a new wound in the thigh,* is enough to prove him GUILTY.

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Such was the end of Edward, prince of Wales, ſon, and only ſon of Henry VI; who ſeems to have been offered up as a ſacrifice to the manes of Edmund Plantagenet, the young earl of Rutland, who, as we have ſeen, had been murdered in cold blood, by the lord Clifford, juſt after the battle of Wakefield: Such horrid acts of retaliation are the natural conſequences of civil wars; where party is irritated againſt party; and one murder is expiated by another.

As for queen Margaret, ſhe was found on the field of battle, concealed in a waggon, where ſhe lay more dead, than alive: and was ſhortly after committed to the Tower; but kept in a ſeparate apartment from the unfortunate king her huſband, who out-lived the dreadful news of this battle of *Tewkesbury* but a few weeks; whether he died a natural, or a violent death, is extremely uncertain; for hiſtory is not preciſe on that point: It was ſuppoſed, and indeed was generally believed, that the duke of Gloceſter diſpatched him with his own hand; but perhaps the notoriouſly infamous character of that prince, might have induced the public to load his memory with this crime alſo, without ſufficient

ficient authority; and becauſe he was bad, would make him ſtill worſe: Certain it is however, that his death at the age of 50, was very ſudden, on the 20th, of June; moſt probably of a broken heart; and very ſoon after the battle, which was fought on the 9th, of May; though he had long laboured under a bad ſtate of health; this circumſtance, joined to the barbarous manners of the age, might have afforded a very natural ground for ſuſpicion of violence; which was rather increaſed, than diminiſhed by the ſtale device of expoſing the body to public view; for unleſs the public were permitted to make a full, and a ſcrupulous examination of the body, ſuch an expoſition could ſerve no other purpoſe, than to make people recal to memory the many ſimilar inſtances in Engliſh hiſtory; and draw a very unfavorable concluſion on the ‡ preſent expoſers.

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The

‡ Sir Winſtal Churchill, in the *Acta Regia*, p. 290, obſerves, that "notwithſtanding all this indulgence to the church, and churchmen, there was none of them ſo grateful, as to give him, after he was *murdered*, Chriſtian burial; but left him to be interred, without prieſt or prayer, torch or taper, maſs or mourner."——This is very fine flouriſhing; but Sir Winſtal ought to have known, that in the work above mentioned, p. 292, there is an order to pay certain ſums of money

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The battle of *Tewkeſbury*, and the events conſequent upon it, ſeemed intirely to have extinguiſhed all hopes in the houſe of Lancaſter: all the legitimate princes of that family were now dead; and moſt of the great leaders of that party had either fallen in the field, or bled on the ſcaffold: Jaſper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, who had been raiſing forces in Wales, was now marching to the banks of the Severne, in order to join the queen, and had almoſt arrived within ſight of the field of battle; but he no ſooner received the news of that diſaſterous overthrow, than he diſbanded his troops, and fled to the ſea ſide, carrying with him his young nephew, Henry earl of Richmond; and by that means preſerved the only ſurviving branch of the Lancaſtrian

money to Hugh Brice, and Richard Martyn, for the expence they had been at, in the interrment of Henry VI; dated June 24, 1471.——but that Edward IV, continues Sir Winſtal, who denied him the rights of a king, when living, was himſelf at the charge of a monument for him, when dead: and Rapin obſerves, that with reſpect to Henry's marriage with queen Margaret, French matches have been fatal to our kings: and then he inſtances in Edward II, Richard II, Henry V, Henry VI, and afterwards in Charles I; the only Engliſh ſovereigns, who ever married into the royal family of France; four of whom met with an untimely death merely through the fault of their wives.

trian line, who afterwards aſcended the throne by the name of Henry VII: for theſe two earls, uncle and nephew, putting to ſea from ſome port in Wales, were driven by diſtreſs of weather upon the coaſts of Brittany; and as ſoon as they landed, were carried to the duke of that province, who arreſted them in his dominions; and aſſigned them the city of Vannes for their reſidence. CHAP. II. 1471

The public tranquillity being now re-eſtabliſhed, the king returned on the 21ſt, of May triumphantly to London; a parliament was ſoon after convoked, which ratified as uſual all acts of the conqueror, and recognized his regal authority.

But the genius of Edward, notwithſtanding his vigour and activity in adverſe circumſtances, was altogether unable to reſiſt the allurements of a proſperous fortune; he ſeems to have been calculated more for a general, than a politician; and to have ſhone more in the field, than in the cabinet: In the ſame manner, if we may be allowed to compare great things with ſmall, it generally happens likewiſe in common life; when people of a buſy, active employment have acquired ſo much wealth as to retire from buſineſs, they generally become miſerable; for as they have never

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never been able to addict themſelves to letters, they know not how to employ their time, and fill up the great vacuities of life; and therefore become either mere idlers, or mere triflers; a burden to themſelves; and a trouble to all around them: So likewiſe was it, with reſpect to the king; who having made himſelf ſole maſter of the kingdom, and not a rival left to diſpute his title, now reſigned himſelf up to the gratification of ſenſual appetites; and ſunk at once from the hero to the libertine:

Farewel the plumed troops, and the big war,
That makes ambition virtue! Oh, farewel!
Farewel the neighing ſteed, and the ſhrill trump,
The ſpirit-ſtiring drum, th'ear-peircing fife,
The royal banner, and all quality,
Pride, pomp, and circumſtance of glorious war!
And oh, ye mortal engines, whoſe rude throats
The thunder's deepeſt clamours counterfeit,
Farewel! Othello's occupation's gone!

Act. III. ſc. 8.

Nevertheleſs by this gay, and licentious courſe of life, and by his eaſy and polite manners, the king regained that popularity, which it is natural to think he had loſt by the many acts

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ets of vigour and ſeverity, which he had exerciſed upon his enemies: and as the example of the prince is commonly imitated by thoſe in inferior ſtations, the whole body of the people indulged in the pleaſures of feſtivity, and good cheer; and by that means forgot in ſome meaſure their former feuds and animoſities, and certainly, better ſo, than to be perpetually murdering and deſtroying one another.

All men ſeemed to be well pleaſed with the preſent government: and the memory of their paſt calamities ſerved now to make them more ſenſible of their preſent happineſs; and to inſpire them with the ſtronger reſolution of guarding againſt thoſe ſcenes of civil diſcord and diſſenſion, which had now continued above Fifteen years; had been productive of ſuch fatal effects to both parties; and had deluged the fields and ſcaffolds, with ſuch ſtreams of noble and ignoble blood.

While Edward was employed in the adminiſtration of public affairs, Richard ſeems to have been employed in ſcenes of a more private nature; in thoſe of gallantry and love; for being now in peace, ſays Hutton, p. XLV, with

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his ſword laid down, he proves himſelf not inſenſible to the charms of the fair; Two, or

1473 three natural children were the conſequence of this intercourſe; but we are not told by what ladies. We muſt not however ſuppoſe, that his conduct in love was altogether irregular; he about this time entered into the moſt ſerious, and ſolemn ſtate of matrimony; and, as all his actions were of the extraordinary kind, he engaged in one of the moſt extraordinary matches, that ever was made; except that of his brother Edward; for about this time he married Anne, younger daughter of the late earl of Warwick; and widow of Edward, late prince of Wales, who had been about two years ago murdered, after the battle of Tewkeſbury, by Richard himſelf, and others: this lady was own ſiſter to the wife of his own brother George, duke of Clarence.

There is a curious note in Walpole, p. 12, tranſcribed from the Chronicle of Croyland, which gives us the following account of this marriage of Richard, duke of Gloceſter with Anne Neville; that the ſaid Anne had been only *betrothed* to Edward prince of Wales: Poſtquam filius regis Henrici, cui domina Anna, minor filia comitis Warwici, *deſponſata* fuit, in præfato bello de Tewkeſbury occubuit, Richard

ard duke of Gloceſter deſired her for his wife: Clarence, who had married the elder ſiſter Iſabella, was unwilling to ſhare ſo rich an inheritance with his brother, and concealed the lady: but Gloceſter was too alert for him; and diſcovered the lady Anne in the dreſs of a Cook maid in London; and removed her to the ſanctuary of St. Martin le Grand: The brothers pleaded each his cauſe in perſon, before their elder brother in council, in the year 1473; and every man admired the ſtrength of their reſpective arguments: The king compoſed their difference, and beſtowed *the maiden* in marriage on Gloceſter; and parted the eſtate between him and Clarence".—Since this whole affair ſhews plainly, that Richard married the lady Anne, in the year 1473, we may well wonder to find Baker aſſerting, that Richard married that lady only a few days previous to his coronation, which was in the year 1483; and then, almoſt immediately after, tells us, that on the 4th, of July, *together with his bride*, he went from Baynard's Caſtle to the Tower by water; where he created Edward his ſon, (by whom?) a child of Ten years old, Prince of Wales!

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From this lethargy of delight, the king at laſt was rouzed by the proſpect of foreign conqueſts; which it is more than probable his love of popularity, rather than a ſpirit of ambition, had induced him to entertain.

1473

In the beginning of this year, Edward ſent an ambaſſador to require the duke of Brittany to deliver up the earl of Pembroke and his nephew the earl of Richmond: but the duke civilly excuſed himſelf; however he promiſed to ſet ſuch a watchful guard over all their actions, that it ſhould never be in their power to do him any injury: Upon which promiſe, Edward granted him a penſion, to reimburſe him for the farther expences he ſhould be at for their maintenance, and the having a ſtricter eye over them: and in this ſituation did the earls continue for at leaſt Twelve years.

Notwithſtanding the cold reception, which the duke of Burgundy had given Edward during his exile, the political intereſts of the two nations were ſo cloſely connected, that he was ſtill obliged to maintain a friendly correſpondence with that prince; in conjunction with whom he now reſolved to invade France with a powerful army.

In

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In profecution of this ſcheme the two princes concluded a formal treaty; by which Edward engaged to croſs the ſeas with a body of Ten thouſand men: Charles promiſed to join him with all his forces; and the king was to advance his claim to the crown of France; and recover at leaſt the provinces of Normandy and Guienne: the duke was to obtain Champagne, and ſome other territories; and to deliver his dominions from their ſubjection to the crown of France: and neither party was to agree to a peace, without the conſent of the other. 1473

They had the greater reaſon to hope that this ſcheme would prove ſucceſsful, as the count de St. Pol, conſtable of France, who was maſter of Saint Quintin, and ſome towns on the Somme, had ſecretly engaged to favor their attempt; and they likewiſe imagined they ſhould be able to perſuade the duke of Brittany to embark in the ſame enterprize.

Whatever reluctance the parliament might diſcover in granting ſupplies on other occaſions, they never failed to contribute the neceſſary ſubſidies on the proſpect of a war with France:

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not having yet learned from experience, that all the blood and treaſure ſpent in the chimerical views of conquering that country, during the reigns of Edward III, and Henry V, and VI, ended in nothing: However the parliament even now voted the king a tenth of all rents, or two ſhillings in the pound; which muſt have been very careleſsly collected, ſince it amounted to only thirty one thouſand four hundred and ſixty pounds: and they added to this ſupply a whole fifteenth, and three quarters of another: but as the king thought theſe ſums ſtill inſufficient for his purpoſe, he endeavoured to raiſe money by way of *Benevolence*; a kind of tax, which, except during the reign of Henry III, had hardly ever been impoſed in former times; and which, though it was pretended to be levied by the conſent of the parties, could not be conſidered as altogether § voluntary.

The

§ Hutton in his Introduction, p. 51, has tranſcribed either from Hollingſhed, or Baker, ſo curious an anecdote, relative to the manner, in which the king collected this *Benevolence*, that it would be inexcuſable to omit it, ſince the whole tranſaction is really laughable enough: they tell us then, that he ſent, among others, for an old rich widow:—ſhe flew immediately to court, on being ſent for by the king; who, when ſhe entered, aſked her with a bewitching ſmile, which won

The reluctance however in granting theſe taxes appears in ſome meaſure, from the clauſes annexed to the parliamentary act: the money ariſing from the fifteenth was not to be intruſted to the care of the king; but to be depoſited in certain religious houſes, as the ſureſt repoſitories in thoſe days; and, if the expedition to France ſhould not be undertaken, it was then to be refunded to the people. CHAP. II. 1474

The king having obtained theſe grants, diſſolved the parliament, which had ſate near three years, and had undergone ſeveral prorogations; not very common at that time in England.

On

won the good old lady's heart, how much ſhe would give as a *Benevolence* for carrying on the war?——Smit with his beauty, ſhe replied, for thy ſweet and lovely face thou ſhalt have Twenty Pounds:——this being twice as much as what the king expected, he was ſo much pleaſed with her generoſity, that he gave her thanks for her bounty, then roſe and kiſſed her:——Perhaps a kiſs of any ſort had not come ſo near her lips for many years; and ſuch a kiſs, never:—and whether, ſays Hollingſhed, the flavour of his breath did ſo comfort her ſtomach, certain it is, ſhe was ſo much delighted with this royal ſalute, that ſhe dropped a curteſy, doubled her offer, and gave him *Forty Pounds*: a ſum, for which at that time, his majeſty no doubt would have kiſſed a witch of Endor, and a mother Shipton, both together.

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1475 On the 20th, June 1475 Edward went over to Calais with an army of fifteen hundred lances, and as many thouſand archers on horſe back, beſides the foot; accompanied by all the principal nobility of England; who mindful of the great conqueſts which their anceſtors had made in the French dominions, and the glorious fruits they enjoyed, flattered themſelves with the proſpect of the ſame good fortune of being ſhot through the head, or run through the body to no manner of purpoſe.

But all their ſanguine hopes were blaſted, when they found, that the conſtable did not receive them with that cordiality and friendſhip which they had been taught to expect, and that the duke of Burgundy did not bring them the leaſt aſſiſtance.

That prince tranſported by the violence of his temper, had carried his armies to a great diſtance; and employed them in wars on the frontiers of Germany, and againſt the duke of Lorrain: and though he waited upon Edward in perſon, and endeavoured to excuſe this breach of treaty; there was little probability that they would be able during this campaign,

to

to act in conjunction: and thus the Engliſh are generally made dupes in every negociation: Edward was ſurpriſed to the laſt degree, to ſee the duke come without an army: and from that moment began to ſuſpect, that the duke, inſtead of helping him to conquer France, had made uſe of him only to give Lewis a diverſion; and he was confirmed in his opinion, by the great precautions which were taken at Peronne, a town belonging to the duke, to prevent the Engliſh army from entering too many at a time: and laſtly, that which completed his ſuſpicion that he was impoſed upon, was, that when the duke of Burgundy carried him to St. Quintin, and he expected the conſtable would have ſet the gates open, he was cannonaded: But it is very probable, that the duke himſelf was deceived by the conſtable; for we can never ſuppoſe, that he would have carried the king thither, merely for the ſake of receiving an affront: However the duke ſoon found, that the king was diſſatisfied with his excuſes, and treated him in but a very cool manner; he therefore preſently left him, under pretence of going to bring up his army. CHAP. II. 1475

Edward,

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1475

Edward, at this, was very much perplexed what to do; the duke of Burgundy, and conſtable had both of them broke their words with him; the duke of Brittany never advanced, and the king of France remained perfectly quiet: vext therefore at this diſappointment, he was inclined to think, that the only remedy he had, was to make peace with Lewis; but the grand difficulty that lay in the way, was his own pride; for he thought it would be highly diſgraceful for a king of England, who had croſſed the ſeas with a deſign to conquer France, to ſue for peace, before he had drawn his ſword.

From this difficulty he was however at laſt relieved, by reflecting, that during this expedition he had taken a French officer priſoner: he gave orders for him to be releaſed without ranſom: This act of generoſity ſo far excited the gratitude of this officer, that he humbly deſired leave to wait on the king, that he might thank him in perſon for this unmerited favor: Being introduced, the king highly careſſed him; and at his departure, ordered the lords Stanley and Howard in their own names to preſent their moſt humble reſpects to the king his maſter.

The

The officer, on his return to court, delivered these compliments in ſuch a warm and emphatic manner that Lewis, comparing this extraordinary flow of civility, with what the herald from Edward had ſo lately told him, that he preſently inferred from thence that the king of England was deſirous of coming to amicable terms of peace: for when Edward had ſent a herald to demand the crown of France, and to give a defiance to Lewis in caſe of refuſal, he was ſo far from treating this bravado with that contempt and indignation, which a prince of leſs prudence, and more magnanimity would have ſhewn on ſuch an occaſion, that he replied in a very mild, and gentle manner, making a very ſubmiſſive apology for not giving up the crown; and even ſent back the herald with a handſome preſent of 30 ells of velvet for a gown: but ſhewing at the ſame time a firm reſolution to keep the crown himſelf: Lewis, not being ſo nice as Edward about ſuch vain punctilios of honor, and his affairs moreover not permitting him to be too ceremonious on this head, immediately ſent a herald to the Engliſh camp, with directions to apply himſelf more attentively to the lords Stanley and Howard, who, he was informed, were moſt inclined to a peace: thinking perhaps, that thoſe two noblemen had been more

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particularly

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particularly pointed out, as the moſt proper perſons to apply to; he was therefore directed to cultivate their good offices with the moſt ſuperb munificence: he was likewiſe commanded, when he addreſſed himſelf to the king of England, to excuſe his maſter on account of the aſſiſtance, he had given to the earl of Warwick; to repreſent to him likewiſe the advantages, that would redound to both their ſubjects from a ſtrict union between the two kingdoms: and to ſuggeſt, what little probability there was, of his ever being able to conquer a kingdom, in which he had no places of ſtrength, and no friends to ſupport him: for he found by experience, how little he had to depend on the promiſes of the duke of Burgundy, and the conſtable of St. Pol; of whoſe inſincerity he muſt have been, by this time, fully convinced; that, in the mean while, as the king his maſter was deſirous to live on good terms with him, he offered to make him amends for the expences he had been at; in ſuch a way as ſhould content him: And laſtly: if this propoſal ſhould be accepted, the king of France deſired him to ſend a ſafe conduct for the ambaſſadors, that they might meet in ſome proper place, and there treat of an accommodation.

As

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As Edward himſelf was no leſs favourably diſpoſed, a treaty was preſently concluded, and ſigned on the 29th, of Auguſt, at Amiens, on the following terms; That Lewis ſhould pay ſeventy five thouſand crowns, to indemnify Edward for the expence of the expedition: on the receipt of which, he ſhould immediately march with his forces to the ſea ſide. That Lewis likewiſe ſhould pay him an annuity of fifty thouſand crowns: That the dauphin of France ſhould eſpouſe Elizabeth, daughter of Edward; and ſettle ſixty thouſand livers a year on her as a jointure: And that neither party ſhould encourage civil wars in the other's kingdom; but that both ſhould aſſiſt each other in ſuppreſſing the inſurrections of their ſubjects.

All which articles were moſt punctually complied with and obſerved; except the article, relating to the marriage of the princeſs Elizabeth; who was providentially reſerved for a more happy union at home.

In order to ratify the treaty above mentioned, and ſwear to the obſervance of it, it was agreed between the two monarchs to have a perſonal interview, on the bridge of Piquigny, with a barrier between them: So cautious are princes, even

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even in their friendly conferences: The French king was attended moſt magnificently by the cardinal of Bourbon, and five other noblemen: And Edward was as ſuperbly accompanied by his brother Clarence, and ſeveral others of the Engliſh nobility.

The meeting of theſe two ſons of glory, theſe two lights of men, was truly great indeed.

I was then preſent, ſaw them ſalute on horſe back,
Beheld them when they lighted; how they clung
In their embracement, as they grew together.

Hen. VIII. Act. I. ſc. i.

After they had moſt ſolemnly confirmed the treaty, Lewis invited Edward to Paris, where he ſaid the Ladies would be extremely fond of his company; and if he ſhould happen to commit any peccadillo, the cardinal of Bourbon ſhould give him abſolution, who from a fellow feeling would not be very ſevere in point of pennance: Edward replied, he ſhould be happy to provide his majeſty with as gentle a confeſſor in England.

The two kings rallied one another with much good humour and pleaſantry;

- - - *each*

. . . . . each following day
Became the next day's maſter - - - to day the French
All clinquant, all in gold, like heathen gods,
Shone down the Engliſh: And tomorrow they
Made Britain India. . . . . Id: Ib.

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Thus they continued to entertain each other for ſome time; till Lewis made a ſignal for his attendents to retire: the Engliſh nobility likewiſe withdrew on their ſide; and then the two kings had a private conference, which laſted for a conſiderable time.

Their converſation was ſuppoſed to turn chiefly on the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, and the conſtable of France: Lewis aſking the king of England's opinion of theſe three allies; Edward told him, that if the duke of Burgundy, and the conſtable ſhould refuſe to take the benefit of the treaty, the king of France might perſue what method he pleaſed in reducing them; and he might command every aſſiſtance from him: but that if the duke of Brittany were attacked, he ſhould certainly afford him all the ſuccours in his power.

The regard which Edward expreſſed for that prince, was owing to his having in his hands the ſole remaining branch of the houſe of Lancaſter;

CHAP. II.

caſter; by whoſe means he might at any time excite commotions in England; and therefore
1475 Edward thought proper to cultivate that duke's friendſhip. Lewis did not preſs him any farther on the ſubject: and the two kings parted with many profeſſions of mutual eſteem and affection.

The French king repaired to Amiens, attended by the lord Howard, who was left as a hoſtage for Edward's performance of the articles; and while the king was waſhing his hands before ſupper, that nobleman whiſpered in his majeſty's ear, that Edward might eaſily be perſuaded to take a journey to Paris: Lewis having changed his opinion, made no anſwer to to this hint of invitation, till it was repeated; and then he ſaid, "that the war which he was "carrying on with the duke of Burgundy, "would not allow him to invite king Edward "to Paris at preſent, and therefore he was ſorry "he could not have the honour of receiving a "viſit from the Engliſh monarch at this time: "Edward, ſaid he privately to Comines, is a "very handſome, and amorous prince; ſome "lady at Paris may be as fond of him, as he

"of

"of her, and perhaps might invite him to re- CHAP.
"turn at ſome other time in a different manner. II.

1475

In effect, he dreaded nothing ſo much as Edward's taking a predilection for France; and wiſhed above all things, that he could but hear he was once fairly embarked, and returned to his own kingdom: he was ſo much afraid of his breaking his engagements, that he beſtowed conſiderable penſions on the principal members of Edward's council, that they might exert their endeavours in perſuading their maſter to adhere to the articles of the treaty. He even condeſcended to court the friendſhip of the common ſoldiers; for as the Engliſh army approached Amiens, he cauſed the gates to be thrown open, and ordered all the innkeepers of the place to treat the men at his expence: and he even ſent three hundred waggon loads of wine as a preſent to the army, when they departed from that place.

All this liberality however, was not the fruits of Lewis's affection, but proceeded intirely from his fear; from which he was at laſt delivered by the departure of the Engliſh monarch, who

CHAP. II. 1475 who ſet ſail for his own country, very well ſatisfied with his late negociation; and all his followers were as well pleaſed with the reliſh of the French wine, and the briſk circulation of French ‡ money. But

‡ The king of France was very well pleaſed, that he had been able thus to ſend the Engliſh monarch home again to his own iſland: but being ſtill afraid, leſt the duke of Burgundy might engage Edward to break the truce, and come back again, he made uſe of a method to keep him ſteadfaſt; which he had practiſed upon other princes with ſucceſs, viz. by bribing the chief perſons of the Engliſh court with good penſions: Philip de Comines ſays theſe penſions amounted to 16000 crowns; and he names the very perſons who received them: It were to be wiſhed the infamous catalogue could be tranſcribed.

Here it will be proper to remark the impertinence of the French hiſtorians, who banter Edward's being ſent back to his own country with ſeveral cart loads of wine: They ought rather to have obſerved, that their grand monarque was forced to pay down 75000 crowns in hand; and 25000 more, a month after, for the firſt term, which expired at Michaelmas: the public acts teſtify, that the annual penſion of 50000 crowns was paid even to Eaſter term 1482: And if to this we may add the 50000 crowns more, that were paid for the ranſom of Queen Margaret: And the 16000 crowns which were paid to the noblemen, as abovementioned; it will appear, that Lewis XI, did actually and really diſburſe, near 600,000 crowns to purchaſe this peace; which plainly proves that he was terribly afraid of this Iſlander; however Frenchmen may ſmother it.

CHAP. II.

1475

But the moſt honourable part of Lewis's treaty with king Edward, was the ſtipulation which he agreed to for reſtoring queen Margaret to liberty; who after the death of her huſband, and murder of her ſon, was no longer in a condition to give any diſturbance to the government; and had now for four years, ever ſince the diſaſtrous battle of Tewkeſbury, been detained a priſoner in the Tower; but on the 13th, of November, Lewis paid fifty thouſand crowns for her ranſom; after which, that princeſs, who by her ambitious, cruel, and arbitrary temper had ſo long involved the people of England in civil diſcord, and diſſention; and occaſioned the utter ruin of herſelf and family, paſſed the remainder of her days in privacy and retirement; and died in the year 1482.

Eſt locus Italiæ medio, ſub montibus altis,
Amſancti valles - - - - - - - - - - - -
Hic ſpecus horrendum - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - ruptoque ingens Acheronte vorago
Peſtiferas aperit fauces; queis condita Erinnys,
Inviſum numen, terras, cælumque levabat.

Æn. vii. 563.

A place

CHAP. II. 1476

A place there is beneath th' Italian hills,
Amſanctus' vale - - - - - - - - - - - -
This dreadful cave - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - and gulph of Acheron
Opes its foul jaws; through which the Fury plunged,
Deteſted fiend; and earth and heaven relieved.

In the year 1476, Edward ſent ambaſſadors to the duke of Brittany, under pretence of renewing their alliance; but the true motive was to deſire the duke, that he would deliver up the earl of Richmond to him: And the duke, having at laſt ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded, did actually deliver up the ſaid earl to the ambaſſadors, who immediately conducted him to St. Malo's; and were actually hurrying him onboard a ſhip, when the duke, having repented of his compliance, and conſidered the baſeneſs of ſuch an action, as ſoon almoſt as they were gone out of ſight, diſpatched Peter Landais with all haſte, to overtake them, and bring him back; which Landais very expeditiouſly performed, juſt at the very inſtant of ‡ embarkation!

‡ If Landais was the perſon employed in this perſuit, ſuch expedition ſeems to be contrary to that negociation, which had been tranſacting, between Edward and the court of Brittany;

barkation! ſo nearly had Edward proceeded in the completion of his happineſs! and ſo narrowly did Richmond eſcape from this wonderful danger; and yet none of our hiſtorians have made the leaſt mention of this tranſaction. CHAP. II. 1476

Though Edward had little reaſon to be pleaſed with the conduct of the duke of Burgundy, he ſtill gave that prince a power of acceding to the treaty of Amiens; but Charles, when the offer was made him, moſt haughtily replied, that he was able to defend himſelf, and ſettle his own agreements without the intervention of England; and as a proof of his aſſertion, he would not agree to any terms of accommodation with Lewis, till three months after Edward's return to his own country; This is that Charles duke of Burgundy, who not above two months before, had waited on Edward in perſon, to apologize for his breach of treaty in being deficient as to his quota of troops, when king Edward arrived firſt on the continent.

This

Brittany; for if Edward's ambaſſadors had paid down the price of delivering him up, (in which we may imagine the miniſter was not forgotten,) we may wonder to find him uſing ſuch expedition to prevent the accompliſhment of Edward's wiſhes: unleſs he were deſirous of being doubly paid for his iniquity.

CHAP. II. 1476

This duke of Burgundy poſſeſſed the ambition, as well as the courage and intrepidity of a hero; but being deſtitute of policy and prudence, qualities no leſs neceſſary in a prince, than valour and bravery, he was unſucceſsful in all his enterprizes; and periſhed at laſt in the battle of Nancy againſt the Swiſs, in the forty-ſixth year of his age, leaving behind him an only daughter, the princeſs Mary, who as ſhe was heireſs to all his rich, and extenſive dominions, was eagerly courted by all the potentates of Europe.

Lewis, as the head of her family, might by a proper application, have procured this match for the dauphin; and by that means have added to the crown of France all the provinces of the Low Countries, together with Burgundy, Artois, and Picardy: But he had conceived ſuch a violent and implacable hatred againſt the houſe of Burgundy, that he choſe rather to reduce the princeſs by force of arms, than unite her to his family by the gentler ties of conſanguinity: the ſoundneſs and integrity of which conduct muſt be left to the penetration of ſuch cunning politicians as Lewis to account for: and he accordingly made himſelf maſter

of

of the duchy of Burgundy, and of that part of Picardy which had been yielded to Philip the Good by the treaty of Arras. CHAP. II. 1477

But the ſtates of the Netherlands were ſo incenſed at his baſe and ungenerous proceedings, which were like plundering a princeſs firſt, in order to gain her affections afterwards, that they beſtowed their ſovereign, the young ducheſs of Burgundy in marriage on Maximilian, arch-duke of Auſtria, ſon of the emperor Frederic, from whom they hoped for relief in their preſent diſtreſſes; and thus France, by an overreaching policy, was deprived of the opportunity, which ſhe could never afterwards regain, of enlarging her dominions by the addition of thoſe fertile and beautiful provinces.

But it is time to return to king Edward; who being arrived in England, and now intirely freed from all apprehenſions of an invaſion from France; and from all the violence of domeſtic diſturbance, applied himſelf to the adminiſtration of government; to convince the world, that he was not ſo abſolutely addicted to pleaſure, as to neglect the weightier concerns of juſtice:

CHAP. II. 1477

juſtice; he therefore made a progreſs through his kingdom; to clear the roads of robbers and banditti, by whom they were greatly infeſted, during the late commotions: He exerted himſelf on this occaſion with equal vigour and impartiality; inflicting ſevere puniſhments on the offenders; and even ſacrificing ſome of his own ſervants to the public good, whenever they were found guilty of any miſdemeanor.

This meaſure was abſolutely neceſſary to allay the clamours of the people, who had begun to complain heavily of the great expence of the late expedition; and Edward was ſo much alarmed at their murmurs, that he was cautious of aſking any farther ſupplies from parliament.

He was therefore obliged to deviſe another method of recruiting his finances; he engaged in the commerce of places and titles; and from being a king, turned merchant; he ſold the profits of vacant prelacies; demanded fines for the reſtitution of temporalities; ranſacked the office of the Records in the Tower, to find out defective titles; obliged the proprietors, by illegal proſecutions, to pay large ſums of money for their confirmation, and impoſed the moſt unjuſt

unjuſt and exorbitant contributions on the clergy: In a word, he employed ſo many arts to fill his coffers, and perſued his purpoſes with ſuch unwearied diligence and application, that he began to be accuſed of avarice and extortion; though he ſtill continued to devote a conſiderable part of his time to the indulgence of his pleaſures. CHAP. II. 1477

All theſe methods of procuring money muſt be aſcribed to the queen; who, in order to ſtrengthen herſelf and her faction, ſet many proſecutions on foot againſt the rich men of the kingdom; ſeveral of whom were arraigned of high treaſon; and the judges were directed to find them guilty, at any rate; and Habington obſerves, in his hiſtory of this king, that as their wealth was the principal evidence againſt them, though their *perſons* were acquitted, their *eſtates* were found guilty: By ſuch iniquitous conduct as this, the queen and her relations were now become extremely unpopular; as well on account of their unbounded ambition, as their inſolent behaviour; and particularly for the conſtant oppoſition they gave likewiſe to all the ſchemes of the king's brothers.

Richard,

CHAP. II.

1478

Richard, duke of Gloceſter, who was naturally cloſe, cunning, reſerved, and ſilent; but, notwithſtanding his diſappointments, always concealed his anger in ſuch a manner, as to prevent an open rupture between him and the miniſtry; he generally endeavoured to conciliate meaſures; and where it was poſſible, ſided with the queen's relations, and never failed to ſhew a moſt ſubmiſſive reſpect to the queen herſelf.

But George duke of Clarence was not of ſuch a crafty diſpoſition; he generally acted in a more open, frank manner; and being naturally of a warm, ambitious, and headſtrong humour, could not ſmother his reſentment at any thing he thought wrong, but broke out on all occaſions with equal vehemence and impetuoſity: While Edward lived in celibacy, Clarence had entertained the agreeable hopes of one day ſucceeding to the crown of England; and conſequently was ſo highly chagrined at his marriage, that he had never loved his brother heartily ſince that period; and naturally hated the queen for the ſame reaſon; and his rancour was always directed againſt her, and all her relations.

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This animoſity was farther inflamed by their ſeizing into their hands all places of profit and honour, thwarting him in all the meaſures he ever concerted for his own advantage; by the act of reſumption, which had lately paſſed, they had ſtripped him of the eſtate of Tutbury, and many other lands, which he had formerly received from the liberality of his brother. CHAP. II. 1478

His ducheſs having died a little before the death of Charles duke of Burgundy, he entreated his ſiſter Margaret, the widow of that prince, to uſe her intereſt in procuring a match between him and her ſtep-daughter, the princeſs Mary: This alliance would have contributed greatly to the intereſt of England; and the ducheſs dowager, who loved Clarence above all her brothers, eſpouſed his cauſe with ſo much zeal, that it was thought the deſign would have proved ſucceſsful, had it not been induſtriouſly defeated by the intrigues of Edward, who was either jealous of his brother's acquiring ſuch unlimited power, or was biaſſed by the queen, who was deſirous of obtaining that match for her own brother Anthony Woodville, earl of Rivers. This ungenerous treatment could not fail to exaſperate the mind of

CHAP. II. 1478

of Clarence, who inveighed againſt the king with great acrimony; and his diſcontent was greatly increaſed by the artful inſinuations of his brother Gloceſter; who ſeems already to have formed ſome deſigns upon the crown; a ſcheme, which he could not carry fully into execution, while Clarence ſtood between him and the ſucceſſion: he therefore determined to accompliſh his ruin in the firſt place; as one great ſtep towards paving his way to that uſurpation, which he knew the infant children of Edward would be unable to ſtruggle againſt, ſhould his brother happen to die during their minority.

With this view he artfully inflamed the hatred of Clarence againſt the king; "What is it, "ſays he, that we are doing? by thus tamely and "quietly ſitting down, with our hands idly in "our boſoms, while the Woodvilles and the "Grays trample over our heads, and are con-"tinually thwarting all our views and intereſts; "which, if Edward was not the weakeſt of "men, he would never ſuffer: You may act as "you pleaſe; but I, for my part, will not "long endure it."—"Nor I neither, replied "Clarence with ſome warmth; I will no long-"er ſubmit to ſuch unworthy treatment, as I have

" have lately met with from the hands of that " proud, upſtart woman: " and then he broke out into ſome harſh threats and imprecations againſt both Edward, and the queen: all which Gloceſter afterwards reported, with violent exaggerations to the king, on pretence of putting him on his guard againſt the treaſonable attempts of Clarence. CHAP. II. 1478

The queen, and her relations, who all hated and deteſted Clarence, notwithſtanding it was by his means, that ſhe herſelf had been releaſed from ſanctuary; for if Clarence had not deſerted Warwick, at the fatal battle of Barnet, it is more than probable, ſhe might have continued there to the day of her death; but the queen, I ſay, and her relations confirmed the ſuggeſtions of Gloceſter; and irritated the king ſo much againſt George, that he began to look on him as a traitor; and whenever Clarence appeared at court, ſuſpected he had formed ſome deſign upon his life, and royalty; and was now come to put it in execution.

This very thought occaſioned ſuch a jealouſy and reſerve towards Clarence, that he could not

CHAP. II. 1478

not bear it; and became more and more exasperated againſt the king for his neglect, and ſullen demeanour; he began to complain of the meaſures of the court in louder terms, and with greater vehemence than ever; inſomuch that the miniſtry were determined to embrace the very firſt opportunity of effecting his ruin.

In order to provoke him violently to commit ſome act of folly, or raſhneſs, which might afford them a pretext for obtaining their purpoſe, they attacked him firſt in his friends and adherents, againſt whom they preferred ſome ridiculous accuſations: there was one John Stacey, a learned clergyman, and ſkilful aſtronomer; him they accuſed of practiſing the art of necromancy: there was likewiſe one Thomas Burdet, of Arrow in Warwickſhire, who was ſeized as being his accomplice, and for having curſed the king, who had by accident killed a favorite white hind in his incloſures: theſe two men were tried for theſe enormous crimes in the king's bench Weſtminſter, found guilty, and executed at Tyburn; where they both aſſerted their innocence with great fortitude and conſtancy; and had been proſecuted even unto death, only becauſe they were adherents to the

duke

duke of Clarence; in order to provoke and irritate that prince to ſome act of violence. CHAP. II. 1478

Clarence was accordingly highly incenſed at this wanton and licentious murder of his followers: and went the next day to the council chamber at Weſtminſter, where he delivered to the ſetting lords a full account of this whole abominable tranſaction, contained in the private confeſſion, and public declaration of thoſe two unhappy ſufferers.

Edward was ſo enraged at his preſumption on this occaſion, which he called interfering with the courts of juſtice, that in the violence of his paſſion he rode full ſpeed from Windſor to Weſtminſter, and cited Clarence to appear before the council: there he reprimanded the duke (his brother) for his inſolence, in daring to arraign the juſtice of his courts of law; which deſign plainly diſcovered his intention to frighten the judges and juries of the realm, and contained a high inſult on the royal authority: he then recapitulated all the malicious ſtories, which his enemies had contrived againſt him; upbraided him as a baſe, ungrateful traitor, and ſigned a warrant for committing him to the Tower.

CHAP. II.

A parliament being aſſembled at Weſtminſter upon this buſineſs; Henry Stafford, duke of
1478 Buckingham was conſtituted lord high ſteward of England to preſide at the trial of Clarence; whoſe accuſation was digeſted into the following articles, implying, That by his ſeditious diſcourſes, he had endeavoured to alienate the affections of the people from the perſon of their ſovereign, (or, as the terms now are, to alienate the affections of his majeſty's loyal ſubjects,) by accuſing his majeſty of having put two criminals, Stacey and Burdet, unjuſtly to death: That he had ſuborned his domeſtics, and others, to circulate this falſe report: That he had charged the king with the crime of necromancy: That he had affirmed, the king had poiſoned ſeveral innocent perſons, whoſe lives could not be affected by any judicial proceſs: That he had aſſerted, the king was not the ſon of the late duke of York, but a baſtard, begotten by another man, whom the ducheſs his mother had admitted privately to her bed: That from this circumſtance, he had plainly diſcovered his intention of ſeizing the crown at the firſt opportunity, by exacting an oath from ſeveral perſons, to aid and aſſiſt him againſt all mankind, not even excepting his ſovereign: That

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he had accuſed the king of practiſing witch- CHAP.
craft, in order to deprive him of his life: And II.
that he had plainly betrayed a deſign to de- 1478
throne the king, by procuring an authentic copy of the act of parliament, paſſed during the uſurpation of Warwick, by which the crown was ſettled upon Clarence, after the death of Henry VI, and in default of male iſſue of his body.

The duke, when called upon to make his defence, denied every part of the charge, and offered to maintain his innocence by ſingle combat; but as Edward himſelf was his accuſer, and proteſted, that he was fully convinced of his guilt, (by which, is he not become both accuſer, and judge?) no evidence was examined; and no member dared venture to ſpeak in behalf of the unhappy prince, who was therefore convicted of high treaſon, and condemned to ſuffer the puniſhment due to that crime.

This ſentence however was not immediately carried into execution; and, in all probability his life would have been ſpared, had not the king's reſentment been kept alive by the wick-

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CHAP. II.

ed insinuations, of the queen and Gloceſter, who never ſuffered his mind to cool, but kept his
1478 fear continually alarmed by a ridiculous prophecy, importing that the name of his ſucceſſor ſhould begin with a G; which was interpreted to be G-*eorge*, duke of Clarence; whereas they ſhould have explained it by Richard duke of G-*loceſter*. The miniſtry however were afraid to execute the ſentence, without ſome farther pretence; in order to obtain which, they engaged one Roger Twynho to preſent a petition to the houſe of Commons againſt the duke of Clarence, for having bribed a jury to give a falſe verdict againſt his kinſwoman Ankeret, late wife of William Twynho, eſquire; whom he accuſed of having poiſoned his ducheſs; in conſequence of which verdict, the ſaid Ankeret had been put to an ignominious death.

The parliament, having conſidered the merits of this petition, annulled the proceſs, as having been unjuſtly obtained by the intereſt of the duke of Clarence; and deſired that the ſentence againſt that prince might be carried into immediate execution. But even now they durſt not venture to put him to death in a public manner:

manner: but he was on the Eleventh of March privately diſpatched in the ‡ Tower. CHAP. II. 1478

Such was the fate of George, duke of Clarence; a prince, who, conſidering the manners of the age, was certainly more weak, than wicked; and who was infinitely more virtuous, than any of thoſe who had plotted, and accompliſhed his ruin: he left behind him one ſon, Edward earl of Warwick; who, as we obſerved before, was that unhappy young prince, who was afterwards put to death by Henry VII. in the affair of Perkin Warbeck: the duke likewiſe left one daughter Margaret, who was afterwards counteſs of Saliſbury.

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‡ Some hiſtorians tell us, that, being put to his choice, what ſort of death he would die, he choſe to be drowned in a butt of Malmſey Sack: whoever can admit of ſo ridiculous an account, may as well ſuppoſe, that his executioners crammed him in at the bung-hole: It is moſt probable, that he was either ſtrangled, or beheaded privately; and his body might then have been thrown into an empty butt of Sack; juſt to conceal it for the preſent; but ſuch concealment could not have laſted long, unleſs we may ſuppoſe, the butt was intended for a coffin: but let what will have been the intention, the whole narration is but a clumſy performance; and they might as well have ſaid, he was choaked with a bunch of radiſhes.

CHAP. II. 1479

The duke's death occaſioned ſuch a clamour among the populace, that the miniſtry were obliged to conceal the manner of his execution; and pretend that he died ſuddenly of grief and vexation; and as a proof that no violence had been offered to his perſon, his body was expoſed in the cathedral of Saint Paul's: but this trick was ſo ſtale, that it ſerved only to ſtrengthen the ſuſpicions of the people, who did not ſcruple to inveigh with great virulence againſt the cruelty of the adminiſtration.

This was the laſt bad act of Edward's reign, of which we are now coming to a concluſion; and which, from the beginning, to the preſent moment, has been but one continued ſcene of ſlaughter, murder, bloodſhed, and barbarity; with a few ſhort intervals of ſenſuality and voluptuouſneſs: there ſeems to have been no mediocrity in his temper; and the cultivation of the arts and ſciences were not then thought on at court: ſo that his ſpirit ſeems to have been wholly immerſed in the indulgence of ſenſual pleaſures; or in the perſuit of projects, which were generally baffled by his own imprudence, or want of circumſpection; for Edward never diſplayed much forecaſt of thought: the only

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point, which he ſeems to have had moſt ſincerely at heart, and in which he ſhewed ſome proviſional care, was the ſettling of his daughters by ſplendid marriages; though moſt of the princeſſes, of whom there were ſeven, were as yet in their infancy: his eldeſt daughter Elizabeth was affianced to the dauphin: but, to convince us, that no human prudence can forſee, and no human power can prevent, the Will, and decrees of Providence, we ſhall find, that hereafter this very daughter, Elizabeth, will be courted by his own brother Richard in marriage, and yet not be married to him, but to a prince of the houſe of Lancaſter! ſo that, as at firſt, a prince of the houſe of York married into the family of Lancaſter; ſo in time to come we ſhall find, that a prince of the houſe Lancaſter married into the houſe of York!—but this is an after-period. CHAP. II. 1479

At preſent we have only to obſerve, that neither this, nor any of the other matches took effect, in Edward's life time; and he had the mortification to ſee the failure of this match with the dauphin, for which he had always expreſſed a peculiar attention; but Lewis, who was little ſcrupulous in obſerving treaties and engagements,

CHAP. II. engagements, found, or at leaſt thought to have found, a more advantageous account, in
1479 contracting the dauphin to the princeſs Margaret, daughter of Maximilian; and Edward was reſolved to be revenged on him for this indignity; accordingly he began to make immediate preparations for this purpoſe.

1480 The French monarch, whoſe cunning was equal to his falſehood, endeavoured to avert the impending danger; by a proper diſtribution of preſents in the court of Scotland, he excited James to make war upon England: and yet he was even then at variance with his nobility, and his forces were very unequal to ſuch an enterprize; but, while he was preparing to enter England, many of the troops diſperſed of themſelves, and left the king to finiſh the expedition almoſt alone:

This weak prince had been guilty of ſo many acts of outrage and violence, ſince he came to age, that he had intirely loſt the affection of his people, and particularly of the nobility; for they could get no acceſs to him; being always excluded by his three favorites, whom he had raiſed

raiſed from the loweſt ſtations in life; who had no talents for buſineſs; and were generally hated for their pride, and avarice: Theſe three men compoſed his whole council: The Scottiſh king had two brothers, named Alexander and John; the latter of whom, having taken the liberty to ſpeak too freely of the king, and his minions, had been committed to priſon, and there put to death: Some time after which atrocious deed, Alexander, who had the title of duke of Albany, was likewiſe ſhut up in a caſtle, leſt he ſhould contrive ſome means to revenge his brother's murder. CHAP. II. 1481

While this prince was in priſon, James, at the ſolicitation of Lewis XI, and the three favorites, broke the truce he had made with Edward, without the leaſt colour, or pretence for ſo doing: This happened juſt at the time, when Edward was ſeriouſly preparing for a war againſt France; he therefore endeavoured to prevent any diſpute with Scotland; but James had already entered the Engliſh frontiers, and was making violent and great depredations.

During this invaſion, Alexander, duke of Albany, made his eſcape from priſon, and had 1482

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fled for refuge to Edward; who promiſed him protection, in hopes of making uſe of him againſt the iniquitous Scottiſh king, his brother: They concluded a treaty accordingly on the 10th, of June, 1482, ſigned Alexander R; by which he took on him the title of king of Scotland: Edward, by this treaty, engaged his aſſiſtance to place him on the throne of Scotland; and the duke promiſed on his part, to give him up Berwick; to break the old alliance between Scotland and France; and to marry Cecilia, Edward's daughter, who had been betrothed to the king his brother; provided he could get a divorce from his own wife; which would be no great difficulty to obtain. This treaty being ſigned, Edward gave the command of an army to the duke of Gloceſter; who in order to return the compliment of James's neighbourly viſit, being accompanied by the duke of Albany, James's own brother, (ſo that the ſpirit of brother-hating ſeems to have pervaded the kingdom, or rather indeed the whole iſland,) ſet out on the 12th, of June with an army of 23,000 men: they ſoon reduced Berwick; by which means that fortreſs, was once more ceded to the Engliſh.

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In the mean while king James, amidſt all his depredations, was very much alarmed at the firſt intelligence, which was brought him, of the march of the Engliſh forces with Richard at the head of them: The moſt ſpeedy method of raiſing a Scottiſh army in thoſe days, was by aſſembling the nobility, and ordering them to bring into the field thoſe troops, which they were obliged to furniſh on ſuch occaſions: but this was a remedy, which neither the king, nor his three favorites, dared to put in practice, becauſe the nobility were diſſatisfied; and it was feared they would be too ſtrong, when they had all collected their forces together: Nevertheleſs, the Engliſh army having by this time retaken Berwick, this event made the diſeaſe ſo deſperate, that James found it was abſolutely neceſſary to do ſomething, in order to quiet the murmurs of the people, and endeavour to give ſome check to the rapid progreſs of the Engliſh arms: The king therefore was obliged to cauſe the Scotch nobles to be ſummoned in the uſual manner; which was no ſooner done, than the very incident happened, which had been ſo long before dreaded; they immediately ſeized the three favorites, and hanged them in the midſt of the camp. James,

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James, at this act, was thrown into ſuch a fright, that he agreed to whatever terms the lords were pleaſed to demand: Thus having pacified their fury for the preſent, he took an opportunity of ſtealing away; and went in all haſte to ſhut himſelf up in Edinburgh caſtle.

While this was tranſacting, the duke of Gloceſter was informed that the Scottiſh nobles, after they had executed their vengeance on the three unworthy favorites, had quietly diſbanded their forces; This gave the duke an opportunity of perſuing the fugitive king; he accordingly quitted Berwick, and marched towards Edinburgh, which he entered without oppoſition: It was in vain for him to expect a conference with James, who would not ſo much as receive any meſſage from him: which obſtinacy obliged the duke of Gloceſter to publiſh a proclamation in Edinburgh by ſound of trumpet, that if king James, or the inhabitants, did not give king Edward intire ſatisfaction before the 1ſt, of September, he would return, and lay Scotland waſte with fire and ſword:——and with this proteſtation he left them.

Theſe

These threatning measures had their proper effect; for James was obliged to comply; and the provost of Edinburgh, with the whole society of merchants, burgesses, and community of the same, were deputed to give the king of England full satisfaction: their commission was dated at Edinburgh, August the 4th, 1482. CHAP. II. 1482.

On the conclusion of the war with Scotland in October following, Edward assembled all the lords in and about London, and declared to them the reasons, which induced him to make war against France; and these being approved of, they all promised to serve him in so just a quarrel; for it seems, Lewis was never a slave to his word; and refused to comply with that article in the treaty of Amiens, which related to the marriage of the princess Elizabeth with the dauphin: Edward therefore was resolved to bring him, if possible, to proper terms of compliance; and with that view he was determined in good earnest to undertake a war against Lewis, and chastize that false and faithless monarch: but, while he was making preparations for that enterprize, he himself was cut off in the very prime of life: for, being seized with a violent fever, it hurried him off the stage of

all

CHAP. II. 1483 all mortal glory on the 9th, of April, in the in the forty-ſecond year of his age, ‡ and twenty-third of his reign. He

‡ Mezerai ſays, that "Edward, finding himſelf *baffled* by the French king, and ridiculed by his own ſubjects for his groſs folly, *died for very Shame:*"——What prejudices and partialities do hiſtorians expreſs, (and eſpecially French hiſtorians,) whenever their opinions are calculated to do honor to the French nation! One would have thought, that Mezerai knew nothing of the life and character of Edward IV, (who was as brave a prince as ever drew a ſword,) to affirm, that ſuch a prince would have died, through mere conceit, and *Shame* of having been impoſed upon by a falſe and treacherous Frenchman; inſtead of drawing that ſword, and chaſtizing that fraud; which no doubt he would have done, if he had not been prevented by death: So that Mezerai therefore might with greater reaſon have aſſerted, that his own grand monarque, Lewis XI, *died for very Shame* of his treachery, falſehood, and perfidiouſneſs; for it ſeems, he outlived Edward but a few months; dying on the 29th, of Auguſt; and Edward on the 9th, of April, preceding; as we have obſerved above.

There is ſomething ſo curious in the method of treating a royal corpſe, mentioned in the firſt Vol. of the Archæology, taken from a manuſcript in poſſeſſion of Thomas Aſtle, Eſq; and communicated by him to Dr. Milles, dean of Exeter, that it would deſerve to be tranſcribed intirely, were it not too long for an annotation: the principal parts however are as follow:——But before I produce the quotation, permit me to tranſcribe a curious account from Rider's Hiſtory of England,

He was a prince of a moſt elegant perſon, and ſoft, inſinuating addreſs; his courage was greater than his prudence; and his good fortune greater

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England, of the manner in which the art of embalming was practiſed on the body of king Henry I. in 1135, which amounts almoſt to a burleſque on this art, now ſo much improved: but ſince it ſhews us the art of Surgery, as it were in its infancy, it will be worth while both to tranſcribe, and to read it: He tells us then, that it was performed by cutting great and deep gaſhes in the fleſhy parts of the body, and filling them hard with Salt; and then wrapping up the corpſe in an Ox-hide!——the method of opening the head was done, it ſeems, with *a hatchet!*——a circumſtance too ridiculous to receive credit, had we not been told, that this preſent operator was a phyſician, who had been procured at a very great expence, as Matthew Paris tells us; Medicus ille, qui *magno pretio* conductus fuit, caput ejus *ſecuri* diffiderat: *who clove his ſkull with a hatchet!*

With regard to the treatment of Edward IV, Mr. Aſtle's manuſcript obſerves, that "Firſt, the corp's was leyde upon a borde, all naked, ſaving he was cov'ed from the navel to the knees, and ſo lay openly X, or XII hourez, that all the lordes, both ſpirituell, and temp'ell, then beying in London, or ner thereaboute, and the meyer of London, with his bredre, ſawe hym ſo lying; and then he was *ſered*, &c."

By this laſt expreſſion of *ſered*, any perſon might ſuppoſe, that this operation was performed by ſcarifying the royal corpſe with *a red hot iron:* this writer means nothing leſs; he

CHAP. II. 1483 greater than both: In times of proſperity, he gave himſelf up intirely to the gratifications of pleaſure: and in adverſe circumſtances no man was

he means *cеared*, or wrapped in *cear-cloths* (commonly written *cerecloths*) or as Shakeſpear has ſo juſtly made Hamlet expreſs himſelf to his father's ghoſt;

> - - - - - - - - - - - *Oh tell,*
> *Why thy canoniz'd bones, hearſed in death,*
> *Have burſt their* cearments. Act. I. ſc. 4.

But to proceed; "after this operation, the royal body was brought into the chapell on the morn aft; wher wer ſongen iii ſolemn maſſez; firſt of our Ladie, ſonge by the chapeleyn; and ſo was the ſecond of the courte: the iiide maſſe of *Requiem*, which was ſongen by the biſhop of Chicheſter: and aft'non ther was ſongen *Dirige* and *Commendacion*."

After this, the royal corpſe was depoſited in St. George's chapel, Windſor; where it remained unmoleſted, and undiſturbed, till the 17th, of March 1789; when the coffin happened to be diſcovered by ſome workmen, who were employed in repairing the floor of the ſaid chapel: Sir Joſeph Banks, and ſeveral Canons were preſent, when the lid was opened: the body appeared intire; the face was eaſily diſtinguiſhed; and the dreſs, which conſiſted in part of very fine lace, not apparently decayed, though it had been interred 306 years before: That the royal corpſe appeared thus perfect, is attributed to the liquid preparation, in which it was immerſed: Sir Joſeph brought away part of this liquor, in order to have it analyzed.

was capable of exerting greater ſpirit, vigour, and activity: In nine battles, where he fought in perſon, he was victorious in all; and indeed the moſt ſhining part of his life was at the head of his forces, in the field of battle; but, as he was of a cruel and vindictive temper, the laurels which he had won in the field, were ſtained and diſgraced by the torrents of noble blood, which he ſhed upon the ſcaffold: his good qualities were courage and bravery; his bad ones, every vice; and yet with all his imperfections he is allowed to have been the handſomeſt man of his time, perhaps in Europe. ‡ CHAP. III. 1483

‡ By his queen Elizabeth Gray he had a numerous iſſue; viz. three princes; and eight princeſſes: Edward and Richard were ſmothered in the Tower; and George, who though a child had been created duke of Bedford, but died ſhortly after: Elizabeth, his eldeſt child legitimate, had been affianced, as we have ſeen, to the dauphin; but afterwards married to Henry VII, king of England: Cicely, firſt affianced by proxy to James, prince of Scotland, ſon to James III; but afterwards matched with John, viſcount Welles, and after his death, was married to Sir John Kyme of Lincolnſhire: Anne, contracted to Philip, ſon of Maximilian; but that marriage not taking effect, ſhe eſpouſed Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, the third of that name: Bridget, who took the veil, and died in the nunnery at Dartford: Mary, affianced to the king of Denmark, but died at Greenwich before

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before her marriage was ſolemnized: Katharine, intended to be matched with the infant of Spain, but married to William Courtney, earl of Devonſhire: the other two died infants.

His natural children were Arthur Plantagenet, viſcount Liſle, born of Elizabeth Lucy; and alſo Elizabeth Plantagenet, married to Thomas lord Lumley: another daughter Elizabeth, by Katharine, daughter of Sir Robert Clavenger; and Iſabella Mylbery, married to a brother of lord Audley: We do not hear of any children by his favorite miſtreſs, Jane Shore.

BRITISH
11 FEB 69
MUSEUM



EDWARD V.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

CIVIL WARS

BETWEEN

YORK AND LANCASTER.

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THE INTER-REGNUM OF EDWARD THE FIFTH.

WE muſt now bid adieu to all the glorious ſplendor of battles, and of wars; we muſt now bid adieu to all the pleaſing ſcenes of amorous delights; we muſt now bid adieu to all the pomp of armies, and the pride of courts: all theſe muſt now give place to ſcenes of horror, murder, deſolation, woe: for, he who was the life, and ornament of all their former CHAP. III. 1483

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mer joy, was no ſooner removed by death, than the young prince Edward, his elder, ſon was
1483 proclaimed king of England, by the name of Edward the Fifth; now only in the thirteenth year of his age; (having been born in September 1470) but he never obtained the ſovereign authority; being brought within the proſpect of a throne, only to be hurried into an untimely grave; for he was not ſuffered to live ſo long, as to reach the crown: So that the interval, between the death of his father, and the uſurpation of his uncle, may be more properly called *an Inter-regnum*, than *a Reign*; during which his unnatural uncle, Richard, contrived the means, and actually perpetrated the horrid deed, of depriving his nephew both of crown, and life.

The young prince Edward, at the time of his father's death, kept his court at Ludlow-caſtle in Shropſhire; under the tuition of his foſter-uncle, Anthony Woodville, earl of Rivers, who had been appointed his governor: the king's uterine brother, Sir Richard Gray, poſſeſſed another great office about his perſon: Sir Thomas Vaughan was his chamberlain; and all the other poſts of his houſehold were

were filled by the queen's creatures: and yet, notwithſtanding the great influence, which ſhe herſelf poſſeſſed over the late king, ſhe could never prevail on him to diſcard from his council ſome old officers, and ſervants, who had always adhered to him with the moſt unſhaken loyalty, and zeal. CHAP. III. 1483

As Henry the ſixth's queen (Margaret) had been the cauſe of all the diſaſters and bloodſhed in the former reign; ſo Edward the fourth's queen, (the preſent queen dowager,) may be ſaid to have been the cauſe of all the miſery and misfortune, which attended this: and both queens ſuffered alike: both were inſtigated by a boundleſs ambition; and both were determined to rule: with this only difference, that Margaret was of a more ſanguinary, furious, and unrelenting temper, than Elizabeth; who ſeems however to have been poſſeſſed with as inſatiate a deſire of ſway; and was reſolved to govern at any rate.

The names and diſtinction indeed of the *White Roſe*, and *the Red*, might ſtill perhaps ſubſiſt, and be made uſe of; but in reality, the

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the being for, or againſt, the queen, and her party, was the ſole diſtinction, which prevailed: and even the friends of the houſe of York, whom the queen might not affect, were debarred from having the king's ear; excepting only three of his old, and moſt faithful ſervants, who maintained themſelves againſt her, and her faction; I mean, Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham; William, lord Haſtings; and Thomas, lord Stanley.

Theſe three nobles were no ſtrangers to the various arts ſhe employed, in order to effect their ruin; and conſcious, that their ſafety, and their lives, could only be enſured by their union, they formed a party for their mutual defence and ſupport, in order to traverſe the meaſures of herſelf, and her family.

The firſt of theſe nobles was ſprung from Anne, daughter of Thomas of Woodſtock, duke of Gloceſter, ſeventh ſon of Edward the third; and enjoyed the office of high conſtable; the lord Haſtings had been high chamberlain, and poſſeſſed a large ſhare of the late king's confidence, on account of the many eminent ſervices he had done him, amidſt all the viciſſi-

tudes

tudes of his fortune: and the lord Stanley was the repreſentative of an antient family; a nobleman of great courage and intrepidity; he had been zealouſly attached to the intereſt of his late maſter; and had married Margaret, counteſs of Richmond, mother to the preſent earl of that title. CHAP. III. 1483

Theſe were regarded as the heads of the antient nobility, in contradiſtinction to the new nobility, who had been raiſed to that high rank by the influence, and recommendation of the queen; and though their credit in the council, as it is natural to ſuppoſe, was greatly inferior to that of the Woodvilles and Grays, they were yet poſſeſſed of ſo much power and intereſt in the country, that they could eaſily give diſturbance to adminiſtration, ſhould they at any time be urged to it by too great provocations; particularly as the prince himſelf was ſo very young, and as it were but juſt aſcending the throne; conſequently incapable of giving a bias to thoſe meaſures, which might be really moſt conducive to the public good: for the determination of the prince very often ſaves, or ſubverts a kingdom.

This

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Thus the queen herſelf became the original cauſe of all the calamities, which afterwards befel her family; and in which ſhe herſelf became a principal ſufferer; and though, as Rapin obſerves, her being queen, could, in her huſband's life time, give her no title to intermeddle in affairs of ſtate, yet ſhe knew how to bring about the ſame effect a different way; ſhe knew the influence and power ſhe had over the late king, and expected to exert the ſame over the preſent; and ſhe acted accordingly: Though Edward, her huſband, had often proved falſe to her, yet ſhe bore it all patiently; and neither upbraided him with infidelity, nor ſhewed any uneaſineſs on that account: and thus Edward, being charmed to find himſelf at liberty to range without controul, or fear of meeting reproach, repaid her moderation with power; ſo that, what ſhe loſt of conjugal affection, ſhe redoubled in the acquiſition of unlimited ſway: and what Edward gained in amours, he loſt in government: thus for a little complaiſance, which coſt her nothing in preſent, ſhe purchaſed a degree of power, which coſt her very dear in the end; by alienating the affections of the people from her huſband, during his life time; and ruining his family, after his

deceaſe

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deceaſe; as we ſhall find in the ſequel: for by a fatality, continues Rapin, not unuſual to the *beſt laid projects*, this very conduct, (this avidity of empire, this *regnandi cupido*) proved the occaſion of her own, and her family's downfall.

"I cannot however think, ſays lord Bolingbroke, that her *project* deſerved to be ranked among thoſe, which are *the beſt laid*; it appears to have been no more, than *the narrow project* of a woman, who had cunning, inſinuation, and the ſpirit of political intrigue, with much pride, and more ambition; but was very far from diſplaying thoſe refulgent beams of knowledge, and thoſe ſuperior degrees of judgement, (ſuch as may be diſcerned in our maiden queen Elizabeth, and Katharine de Medicis) which are proper to conduct ſo great a deſign, as the paſſion for ſway prompted her to undertake: for, what was her project? was it to acquire an intereſt in the nation, by promoting the good of her huſband's ſubjects? nothing leſs: it was only this; to form a faction at court, by raiſing her relations, into whoſe hands ſhe poured all the places of profit and preferment, which the king had to beſtow: ſhe compaſſed this deſign; and triumphed no doubt in her ſucceſs:

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ſurrounded by her creatures, ſhe looked no farther than that contracted circle; and either took no notice of the temper of the nation, or judged of that temper from the influence of her own power at court: and it was this conduct of the queen that had given riſe to, and eſtabliſhed the diſtinction of the *antient*, and the *new* nobility, already mentioned; that is, of thoſe who were, and who had been, of *antient*, and long ſtanding in the court; and of thoſe, who were but *newly* created, and raiſed to that dignity: the *antient* nobility had the true, natural ſtrength of the kingdom, which their great eſtates in land, and their eſtabliſhed honors, gave them; but the *latter* had no ſtrength of their own; none, but that adventitious ſtrength, which aroſe from their employments, and favor at court; they brought nothing thither, that could make amends for the envy and diſcontent, which their elevation cauſed in the kingdom."

Such was the diſpoſition of the court and kingdom in general; and Richard, duke of Gloceſter, would have been greatly perplexed, how to have ſteered between theſe two parties, and yet have continued in friendſhip with them both, had he not been poſſeſſed of an uncommon

mon ſhare of ſagacity and diſſimulation, or what may be more properly called *Court-craft*; for, in order to preſerve the friendſhip of his brother, while living, he was obliged to make his court to the queen; which Clarence not being able to brook, it had coſt him his life; but then Richard, by treating the queen in ſo reſpectful a manner, ran the riſk of offending the antient nobility, without whoſe concurrence and aſſiſtance it would have been impoſſible for him to have attempted, much leſs to have accompliſhed, his deſigns: he therefore behaved to the queen with all the exterior marks of the moſt profound deference; which kind of behaviour prevented her from ſeeing through the thick diſguiſe; and at the ſame time he entered into a private engagement with the duke of Buckingham, and his party; before whom he always inveighed againſt the queen with the greateſt acrimony. CHAP. III. 1483

Thus he found means to raiſe even a third party for himſelf, by gaining the intereſt of this powerful nobleman.

Edward had been able, during his life time, in a great meaſure to moderate the animoſity of

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of theſe two rival factions; but he plainly perceived, that whenever he ſhould be removed, they would, after his death, come to an open diſſention: In order, if poſſible, to prevent the fatal conſequences of theſe two jarring factions, he had ſtrongly recommended unanimity and concord to the two parties; he had even propoſed, and accompliſhed a reconciliation; a poor, and a weak expedient! to which however, for form's ſake, they had readily conſented; and the ceremony had been compleated in his preſence; the queen undertook for her brother Rivers, who was then at Ludlow with the young prince; and her eldeſt ſon the marquis of Dorſet, embraced both the duke of Buckingham, and lord Haſtings, with all the appearance of the moſt ſincere affection.

But ſurely the king, at that time, muſt have had a very weak memory, or a very weak mind, not to have recollected, that a far more ſolemn farce had been tranſacted between his own father, and the furious queen Margaret, when he handed her majeſty to Saint Paul's, in token of their moſt cordial reconciliation: but alas, the reconciliation of parties is like the covering of concealed fires; which are always found to break

out

out with redoubled fury, whenever they are unfortunate enough to gain expanſion. CHAP. III.

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The duke of Gloceſter, who was then at York on return from his late ſucceſsful expedition to Scotland, could not obſtruct this accommodation; nay moſt probably would have conſented to it, and joined moſt heartily in acting his part; well knowing, that ſuch reconciliations are no longer binding, than while it may ſuit the convenience of the different parties to keep them: Had indeed their profeſſions been really ſincere, this very act muſt have intirely diſconcerted all his ambitious views, and fruſtrated all his future projects; but luckily for him, and unhappily for the parties themſelves, this was very far from being the caſe.

Edward had no ſooner expired, than all, and every one of them forgot their mutual engagements, their embraces, and their ſolemn proteſtations to each other; and both factions endeavoured to gain, and ſtruggled hard to graſp the chief power into their own hands; and acquire the aſcendant over the young king, and ſecure him to themſelves; being ſenſible that his name would ſerve to give a ſanction to all their proceedings.

The

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1483 The queen therefore immediately upon the demiſe of the king, ſent a meſſenger to her brother, the earl of Rivers, at Ludlow, with the news of that melancholy event, and a letter, in which ſhe requeſted him to aſſemble a good body of troops in Wales, and to conduct the young king to London, that the ceremony of his coronation might be performed with all convenient diſpatch.

On the other hand, the duke of Buckingham, and the lord Haſtings, perceiving the queen's intentions, ſent off Purcival, a truſty ſervant, by a different way to the duke of Gloceſter at York, to inform him of his brother's death, and haſten his return to town, to counteract the queen's meaſures, who was endeavouring to get poſſeſſion of the young king: but, as the protectorſhip of the realm appertained of right to himſelf, during the king's minority, they adviſed him to appear, and aſſert his own privilege; and each of them promiſed to raiſe him a body of a thouſand men, which ſhould be ready to obey him in all lawful commands.

Richard, on this intelligence, ordered them to ſet out directly, and meet him at Northamp-

ton;

ton; whither they accordingly repaired; and brought with them as great a number of their vaſſals, as they could poſſibly collect together, in ſuch an emergency. CHAP. III. 1483

As ſoon as they and their friends arrived, Richard addreſſed them in a long, and laboured harangue; repreſenting the danger, to which they, above all men, would be expoſed, ſhould the queen continue to manage the reins of government; and rule the prince, as ſhe had ruled the king: Beſides; "Who is ſhe? that the whole kingdom muſt bow, and ſubmit to? No, my lords, I truſt to your aſſiſtance; and make no doubt, but by your concurrence, we ſhall be able to counteract all her haughty projects."—He then declared, "that it was both his right, and his intereſt, to aſſume the adminiſtration of public affairs, during the minority of his nephew: that every body was perfectly well acquainted with the inviolable attachment, which he had ever preſerved to his brother; and that he had always ſhewn the moſt ſubmiſſive regard to the queen, becauſe he knew it was the moſt acceptable behaviour to his brother: but now, ſince that union was diſſolved, (Oh, that it had never been formed!) he was determined

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determined to vindicate his own claim, and aſſume the government of his brother's children; that his tender affection for their welfare, would not permit him to entruſt them to the care of thoſe, whoſe only aim it was to aggrandize themſelves at the expence of their ſovereign: for which reaſon, he was reſolved to employ the beſt of his endeavours for the good of the nation, and the honor of the young king, on whom he would beſtow ſuch an education, as ſhould enable him to tread in the ſteps of his glorious anceſtors: And therefore, being very conſcious, that ſuch a deſign could not be accompliſhed without the aſſiſtance of all honeſt men, he had called them together, in order to concert the moſt proper meaſures, that ought to be perſued, in the preſent ſituation of the realm; and he finally expreſſed a moſt ardent deſire, of being intirely directed by their ſuperior judgements and advice."

This ſpeech being well received, they preſently began to conſult by what means they might obtain the poſſeſſion of the king's perſon: but as it would be difficult to attempt it by force, they reſolved to atchieve it by fraud; becauſe all kinds of ſtrategem are beſt carried on by deceit:

ceit: It was therefore agreed, that they ſhould continue to expreſs the greateſt appearence of zeal and affection for the perſon and intereſt of their new ſovereign, that the queen might have no pretence for levying, or maintaining an army; that the duke of Gloceſter ſhould artfully inſinuate, that ſhe ought to diſband thoſe troops, which had been already raiſed; and then, ſhould his arguments prevail, endeavour to ſeize the king's perſon, before his arrival in London: but, ſhould the queen refuſe to follow his advice, he was then to amuſe her with negociations, till he ſhould be able to effect his enterprize in a more ſucceſsful manner. CHAP. III. 1483.

This reſolution being formed, lord Haſtings returned to London, where he was extremely popular: and the duke of Gloceſter wrote a letter of condolence to the queen; in which, after declaring the warmeſt profeſſions of eſteem, regard, and attachment to herſelf, and his young ſovereign, he preſumed to adviſe her, to exert her utmoſt efforts, to baniſh that ſpirit of animoſity, which ſtill prevailed among the nobles; and to ſtrengthen and confirm the reconciliation, which had been ſo lately, and ſo happily concluded: he took the liberty to allege, that

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that the raiſing of forces, at this particular time, for the defence of the king, when there was not the leaſt appearance of danger, might revive the jealouſy and ſuſpicion of thoſe noblemen, who had been reconciled to her family: but more particularly, that the apprehending the perſons of any noblemen now, would naturally induce others to take offenſive meaſures for their own ſafety; and that one miſunderſtanding would naturally bring on another, till the whole kingdom might again be involved in Civil war, and confuſion: therefore, in order to fruſtrate the very beginnings of ſtrife, he earneſtly beſought her to diſmiſs thoſe forces, which were already collected, that all the nobles of the kingdom might without fear, or ſuſpicion, come and pay their duty to their young ſovereign, and contribute with all their power towards the preſervation of the public peace.

The queen had as yet, no reaſon to ſuſpect the ſincerity of Gloceſter, who had always behaved to her with the utmoſt politeneſs, and diſcoverd an uncommon zeal for the intereſt of her children; his ſmooth, and artful tales had ſo far deceived her, that ſhe looked upon him, as one of her ſafeſt, and ſureſt friends, out of the pale

pale of her own family; and therefore ſhe conſidered this letter, as the pure and genuine dictates of his heart, for her good; and looked upon his advice, as the real effect of his loyalty to his prince, and his good ſenſe towards her: particularly ſince he had not dropped one word of his intention to interfere with her in the adminiſtration of government; the love of ſway being ſo natural to the female heart; ſhe therefore followed his advice, as the moſt wholeſome counſel of a friend; and commanded Rivers to diſmiſs his two thouſand horſe, that they might not give any umbrage to the nation, and look as if they intended to bring in the king by force of arms: The earl immediately complied with her commands, and ſoon after ſet out from Ludlow caſtle with the king for London, accompanied by only a few of his own ordinary domeſtics. CHAP. III. 1483

Young Edward was met on his way by the dukes of Gloceſter, and Buckingham, in the neighbourhood of Northampton; into which city they had, but juſt before, thrown a body of nine hundred men; and ſaluted him with all the marks of the moſt profound ſubmiſſion.

What

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What could a child do in ſuch a caſe? but be pleaſed with their vain adulation, and fond to
483 ſee himſelf ſo highly reſpected: he embraced his uncle, and the duke with all tenderneſs; and ſeemed to be greatly delighted with their having come ſo far to meet him, and give him ſo long the pleaſure of their company. Gloceſter then obſerved, that as the town was full, and crouded with ſtrangers, and was at beſt but ill ſupplied with proviſions, his majeſty would find much better accommodations at Stony-Stratford, which was but twelve miles farther, and conſequently ſo much nearer to London.

His propoſal was moſt readily accepted; and the two dukes, having rode a little way with the king, pretended to have ſome urgent buſineſs at Northampton, and deſired leave to return: which being complied with, they invited the earl of Rivers to come and ſpend the evening with them, at their lodgings: the earl engaged to wait on them, as ſoon as he had fixed his majeſty at Stratford; and accordingly, after he had ſettled the king, who was by this time fatigued, and glad to be alone, he took this opportunity of ſhewing his compliance to the

the invitation of the two dukes; and rode back again to Northampton, with an earneſt deſire of cementing the late reconciliation the more firmly, by this mark of intire confidence in their friendſhip. CHAP. III. 1483

As ſoon as he arrived, and arrived alone, he was moſt joyfully received; and they paſſed the night moſt chearfully together, in all ſeeming harmony, and mutual proteſtations of friendſhip, and regard; recounting many of the difficulties and diſtreſſes, which the nation had lately undergone; and comforting themſelves up with the happy proſpect of affairs, at preſent before them, and in future.

Who now, after ſuch an evening, could imagine, that the very next day morning, theſe two men, theſe two dukes, ſhould cauſe the earl of Rivers to be arreſted, and ſecured; and, as ſoon as they had committed him to ſafe cuſtody, ſet out immediately for Stony-Stratford; where they found the king, ready to continue his journey; who, making ſome inquiry after the earl of Rivers, was ſlightly anſwered with ſome frivolous excuſe of buſineſs, that detained

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ed him: ſhortly after which, they began to quarrel with Sir Richard Gray, the king's uterine-brother, who, they alleged, had laid a plot with the earl of Rivers, and the marquis of Dorſet, to make themſelves maſters of the king's perſon; and that Dorſet in particular had applied to his own uſe a great part of the late king's treaſure, with which he had been entruſted.

The marquis was going to reply with ſome warmth, when the king, young as he was, interpoſed, and deſired they would not proceed any farther upon theſe ſubjects; that he could not indeed undertake to anſwer for the conduct of Dorſet, becauſe he was intirely ignorant of the whole affair; but he would anſwer for, and vindicate his uncle Rivers, and his brother Richard, becauſe they had always attended him, particularly after his father's deceaſe.

The duke of Buckingham replied, that he was too young to be able to fathom the depth of ſuch men's behaviour; and that they were too artful to let his majeſty dive into their ſecrets: and immediately commanded his followers to arreſt the perſons of Sir Richard Gray, and Sir Thomas Vaughan: but the marquis of Dorſet eſcaped. Having

Having thus iniquitouſly ſecured three of the king's principal ſupports, they carried him back to Northampton; and that very day, all the three priſoners were hurried to Pontfract caſtle, notwithſtanding the entreaties and tears of Edward, which flowed in abundance: though both Gloceſter and Buckingham endeavoured to pacify him, by aſſuring him, that every thing was done for his good, and the peace of the nation: which was all the conſolation he could get, except a little outward ſhew of formality and ſubmiſſion, which they ſtill continued to pay him: but what could ſuch honied words avail, to procure true inward peace of mind! CHAP. III. 1483

The queen was utterly loſt in aſtoniſhment, when ſhe was apprized of theſe proceedings; neither could ſhe give credit to their report; but when ſhe found, that they were but too dreadfully true, ſhe preſently conceived the full ſcope of the duke of Gloceſter's deſign, that arch-diſſembler! and gave her brother, and two ſons as totally loſt for ever; though only one of them was as preſent in confinement: and ſhe herſelf, to avoid the like treatment, retired

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retired with her youngeſt ſon, the duke of York, now nine years old, with his five ſiſters, into a voluntary confinement in Weſtminſter abby.

The lord Haſtings having received intelligence of all theſe tranſactions at Northampton, repaired directly to the palace of Dr. Rotherham arch-biſhop of York, in York place Weſtminſter, to whom he imparted theſe tidings; aſſuring him at the ſame time, that no violence would be offered to the king's perſon; nor to any one elſe: and indeed he was always ſincerely devoted to the young prince, without knowing the whole depth of Gloceſter's intentions; for he was not one of the initiated.

The good prelate aroſe immediately from his bed; and, though it was midnight, went to viſit the queen; whom he found in a moſt deplorable, and diſconſolate ſituation indeed; ſitting on the cold pavement, bathed in tears, overwhelmed with grief and affliction, and bitterly lamenting the hard fate of herſelf, her children, family, and friends; all loſt, all ruined, all undone for ever!

He

He endeavoured to chear her ſpirits with the ſoothing words of comfort; and bade her rely with full aſſurance and confidence on the protection of lord Haſtings:—but there he touched a tender ſtring; for, though that lord had always ſhewn himſelf a ſincere friend to Edward's children, yet he had lived at variance with herſelf, and therefore ſhe could not derive any conſolation, or but very little, from that quarter. CHAP. III. 1483

Then he declared, that if her enemies ſhould be cruel enough to deprive the king of life, he would inſtantly crown the duke of York: and, as a proof of his ſincerity, he promiſed to deliver the Great Seal into her hands; but afterwards recollecting, that he ought not to part with that mark of the late king's confidence, he deſired to be excuſed from ſending it; and ſhe readily complied with his requeſt.

Meanwhile the citizens of London, being informed of what had been done at Northampton, exclamed with great vehemence againſt the conduct of the duke of Gloceſter; and many of them flew to arms, without knowing

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what might be the conſequence of ſuch proceedings: but their fears were preſently allayed, by the care of the lord Haſtings, who went about the city, continually aſſuring every perſon, that no harm was intended againſt the king; and that Rivers, Gray, and Vaughan had been arreſted, for a conſpiracy againſt the lives of the dukes of Gloceſter and Buckingham; but that they would be brought to a fair, and equitable trial.

This in ſome meaſure appeaſed the commotion; particularly as within a few days after, the king was conducted to London; which he entered on the 4th of May, amidſt the acclamations of the citizens; and was attended by a great number of noblemen; and among others by the duke of Gloceſter; who like a thorough paced hypocrite as he was, rode behind him at a diſtance, bare-headed, and frequently calling out to the populace, "Behold your prince and ſovereign ‡"!

He

‡ Fabian, who ſeems to have been an eye witneſs of the proceſſion, ſays, "the king was of the maior, Edmund Shaw, a Goldſmith, and his citizens, met at Horneſey parke; the maior and his bretheren being clothed in ſcarlet, and the citizens

He was lodged for the preſent in the biſhop's palace, as being a place of ſafety, under the protection of the citizens: and this mark of confidence, together with the regard, which was ſhewn by every one to the king's perſon, intirely removed the ſuſpicions, which the affair at Northampton had occaſioned; for that, being ſlightly paſſed over, was preſently forgotten. CHAP. III. 1483

Immediately after the rejoicings for the king's arrival, the duke of Gloceſter ſummoned a great council of the nobility, to ſettle the adminiſtration; and as this conſiſted chiefly of his own friends, he himſelf was on the 25th, or 26th, of May, § choſen *Protector* of the kingdom:

citizens in violet, to the number of v. c. horſes; and than from thence conveyed unto the citie; the king being in blewe velvet, and all his lords and ſervantes in black cloth."——As if they were riding to a funeral, and not in the joyful proceſſion of a new, and a young king:—but we muſt obſerve, he was in mourning for his father.

§ It muſt have been on one of thoſe two days, becauſe in the *Acta Regia* there is an act, dated on the 24th, of May, in which there is no mention made of *a Protector*; whereas in another, dated the 27th, and two more acts which follow, it is ſaid, "*By the advice of our moſt dear uncle, the duke of Gloceſter, Protector of our kingdom.*

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dom: though the council, on this occaſion uſurped a prerogative, which belonged to the parliament ‡ alone.

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By this council the archbiſhop of York was highly cenſured, for his having offered to deliver up the Great Seal to the queen; that badge of regal power; for which he was now immediately degraded from his ſeat at the council board; and on the 27th, of June following, the Great Seal was taken from him, and given to Dr. John Ruſſel, biſhop of Lincoln, a wiſe and good prelate, and of very great experience in ſtate affairs.

Being

‡ This circumſtance of Richard's accepting *the Protectorſhip*, is the ſtrangeſt, blindeſt, and moſt enigmatical part of all theſe proceedings; and Mr. Walpole himſelf, p. 33. confeſſes, that "Had Richard's deſigns been upon the crown, would he have weakened his own claim, by aſſuming *the Protectorate?* which he could not accept, but by acknowledging the title of his Nephew;——But he did accept it; conſequently did acknowledge his Nephew's title was good: and yet he had deſigns upon the crown: Beſides; if his Nephew's title was good, then what becomes of the whole affair of the lady Eleanor Butler? and if the affair of the lady Eleanor Butler is valid, then what becomes of *the Protectorate?* Theſe are points which our hiſtorians ought in ſome meaſure to have cleared up.

Being now appointed Protector, he next artfully made a motion in council, that a deputation ſhould be ſent to the queen dowager, and entreat her to permit the duke of York to attend his brother, and aſſiſt at the coronation: alleging, that Elizabeth's having taken refuge by flying to ſanctuary, betrayed a diſtruſt, which might create jealouſies and ſuſpicions in the breaſts of all good men, and revive factions in the ſtate, to the great prejudice and detriment of the nation: that the circumſtance of one brother's receiving a crown in Weſtminſter abby, while the other was forced to abide at the altar of the ſame church for ſanctuary, was ſuch a contradiction in politics, as would make all foreign princes entertain a very ſtrange idea of the Engliſh conſtitution: and either cenſure us, as cruel and tyrannical; or mock at us, as impotent and weak: That it was more than probable, that the queen's intention was to take the very firſt opportunity of eſcaping from ſanctuary, and throwing the whole kingdom again into combuſtion, and all the horrors of civil war, on pretence of defending her ſecond ſon from violence, while ſhe ſaw his elder brother reigning in peace and tranquillity: and therefore it was plain, that as only her own CHAP. III. 1483

ſilly

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ſilly womaniſh fear had driven her into ſanctuary, it could be nothing but the ſame ſilly womaniſh malice that kept her there.

He therefore propoſed that cardinal Thomas Bourchier, archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſhould endeavour to prevail on the queen to ſend the duke of York to his brother quietly; or elſe, in caſe of her perſiſting ſtill in her refuſal to gratify the council in this particular, that he ſhould be taken from her by force.

The primate engaged to uſe all the influence in his power, to perſuade the queen into a compliance; but exclamed vehemently againſt the propoſal of forcing ſanctuary, which had been ſo long, and ſo religiouſly preſerved inviolate, and undiſturbed.

The duke of Buckingham enlarged much on the abuſe of ſanctuaries; which, he ſaid, had been ſo often made the refuge and protection of traitors and murderers; but the duke of York had committed no overt act of treaſon againſt the ſtate, nor violence againſt the life or property of any one; and had been dragged into ſanctuary, merely to ſatisfy the jealouſy and ſuſpicion of a fooliſh, fond mother; and

therefore

therefore the taking him away from her, was not committing any act of violence againſt the church: however, he hoped his grace would be able to prevail on her by fair means: for which reaſon he ſeconded the opinion of the Protector. CHAP. III. 1483

This was likewiſe approved by all the reſt of the council preſent; the eccleſiaſtics alone excepted.

After which, the cardinal archbiſhop repairing to the abby, exerted all his eloquence with the queen, and made uſe of all his addreſs, in perſuading her that ſhe ought to ſend the duke of York to his brother: but, finding her proof againſt all his arguments, he was at laſt obliged to tell her plainly, that if ſhe would not comply, the council had determined to fetch him away by force.

This declaration ſubdued all the tender affections of the unhappy mother, who ſtill continued greatly alarmed, and expreſſed every ſymptom of reluctance; acquainting the cardinal with her dreadful apprehenſions of Gloceſter, that falſe, inſidious monſter; who, notwithſtanding all the fair pretences of outward ceremony,

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ceremony, which he had diſſemblingly ſhewn to herſelf, had ſo lately forfeited all ties of friendſhip, by cruelly, and unjuſtly ſeizing the perſon of her brother and ſon; and after having traitorouſly got poſſeſſion of the king, now wanted to tear from her this dear baby alſo: then, when he has made away with both his own brother's ſons, Oh my prophetic ſoul! will lay his bloody, murderous hands upon the crown itſelf.

The archbiſhop, who was an intire ſtranger to the ambitious projects of Richard, was highly offended at the queen's inſinuations; and told her with great warmth, that her ſuſpicions were injurious to the character of that prince, who was ſincerely attached to the intereſt of his ſovereign; and equally diſreſpectful to the honour of the nobility, and prelates in council; who could not be ſo wicked, as to concur in any deſigns of ſo iniquitous a tendency.

Oh, my good lord, replied the queen, your grace is utterly deceived; that man is falſe! and there is no more dependence to be made on all his glozing lies, than there is on the proteſtations of the moſt inſinuating ſycophant.

Madam,

Madam, replied the prelate, the Protector is but one man, and can do nothing of himſelf; he muſt act by the conſent, and joint aſſiſtance of the whole council; and you cannot poſſibly ſuppoſe, that they are all of them men of the ſame evil caſt; he would therefore find it impoſſible to ſucceed in any of his wicked projects; and I am fully perſuaded, that no ſuch abominable thoughts ever entered into the mind of the duke of Gloceſter. CHAP. III. 1483

The good prelate was really convinced of the Protector's integrity; and of conſequence ſpoke with the greater warmth: till at laſt, the queen, unable any longer to reſiſt his perſuaſions, and relying on his well known character for piety and ſanctity, agreed to his requeſt:—accordingly, taking her ſon in her arms, ſhe addreſſed herſelf to him in theſe words; "Farewel! my own dear ſon, Farewel! The Almighty be thy defence! Let me kiſs thee once more, before we part, and part, perhaps, for ever! for God knows, whether we ſhall ever kiſs again!"—then claſping him cloſe to her boſom, and embracing him, as for the laſt time, with all the tenderneſs of maternal affection, ſhe poured forth a flood of tears, and

delivered

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delivered him up, into the hands of the archbiſhop; by whom he was immediately conducted to the Protector; as a dove to the care of the vultur, or a lamb to the care of the wolf.

Richard received him with all the marks of paternal fondneſs; and begged he would conſider him, as his guardian; and look on him, as his uncle, father, friend.

The two young princes ſeemed to be extremely happy at their preſent meeting, and were very well pleaſed with each other's company; nay they even began to think, that their uncle had a real regard for their intereſt: But they were too ſoon to be convinced of their miſtake, and to find, that all this gay, delightful ſcene was but deluſory; and no more in fact, than the doleful prelude of all their approaching woe! for, within a few days after, they were removed from the biſhop's palace to the Tower; not indeed, as at preſent, under the character of ſtate criminals, but, as in thoſe days, in order for the coronation; a cuſtom, which but too plauſibly gave the cruel Gloceſter a pretext, for committing them both to cloſe cuſtody; having determined, that they now had

had trod thoſe ſteps, § which they ſhould ne'er untread. CHAP. III 1483

Having thus ſecured them both, it is ſuppoſed that, at this very juncture, Richard imparted his deſign of aſcending the throne, to the duke of Buckingham, who was a nobleman of bad principles, and therefore the more eaſily induced to embark in the project of Gloceſter, on a proſpect of being rewarded for his ſervices with a grant of certain lands in Herefordſhire, which had indeed, formerly, belonged to his family; and a patent for intailing on him, and his poſterity, the office of high conſtable of England, which he at preſent enjoyed only at will.

The

§ This however muſt not be looked upon, as an immediate conſequence of their being ſent thither; which laſt circumſtance, ſays Mr. Walpole, p. 36. "has not a little contributed to raiſe horror in vulgar minds, who of late years have been accuſtomed to ſee no perſons of rank lodged in the Tower, but ſtate criminals: but in that age, the caſe was widely different: It not only appears by a map of London, engraven ſo late as the reign of queen Elizabeth, that the Tower was a royal palace, in which were ranges of buildings, called the king's and queen's apartments, now demoliſhed:

but

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The Protector having thus ſecured Buckingham in his intereſt, now determined to rid his hands of the priſoners at Pontfract, whoſe deaths would deprive the royal family of their chief ſupport: for this purpoſe, he diſpatched an order to Sir Thomas Radcliff, governor of that fortreſs; who, as he was a mere creature of the Protector's, moſt willingly obeyed his injunction: He had already levied a body of five thouſand men for the ſervice of Richard; and therefore, having nothing to fear from the reſentment of the people in that neighbourhood, he ordered *the earl of Rivers*, Sir Richard Gray, and Sir Thomas Vaughan, to be beheaded immediately, without any form of ‡ trial.

Meanwhile

but it is a known fact that they did often lodge there; eſpecially previous to their coronation: "——and Richard himſelf with his conſort, went thither two days before they were crowned.

‡ Mr. Walpole, in his firſt Volume of Noble Authors, p. 67. has given us a moſt excellent character of this earl of Rivers, who now was but in the 41ſt, year of his age, when he was thus unjuſtly, and unnaturally beheaded; and obſerves, how ſlightly the death of this nobleman is always mentioned; though he was endowed with many amiable qualifications, and inveſted with ſuch high offices of truſt and dignity.

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Meanwhile, the duke of Gloceſter engaged in his ſervice a great number of abandoned and profligate perſons, men of deſperate fortunes, but of far more deſperate principles, deſtitute of every virtue, and every tie of religion; who would not fail to execute all his orders, how cruel, or wicked ſoever, without the leaſt ſcruple of conſcience, or remorſe. 1483

While he was privately collecting this band of deſperadoes, he ſtill pretended to keep up an appearance of loyalty and affection for the king; and ſeemed to be employed in making great preparations for the corowning of his nephew,——or himſelf; to which purpoſe, he ſummoned all gentlemen, poſſeſſed of forty pounds a year, to attend, and receive the honor of knighthood.

He now began to turn his thoughts moſt ſeriouſly, how to deviſe ſome expedient for excluding not only both his nephews, the ſons of Edward, from the throne, but thoſe of his brother Clarence likewiſe, who ſtood between him, and the object of his hopes: all theſe muſt be ſwept away in one common, undiſtinguiſhed ruin. When

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When a reſolution of this kind is once formed, there is but very little time elapſes, before it is put in execution; pretences are eaſily formed, for carrying it on to completion: His emiſſaries began to prepare the minds of the people for thoſe horrid ſcenes, which enſued: firſt by ſpreading malicious reports to the prejudice of his own mother's character; he did not regard their making his mother an adultereſs, provided they could but thereby make himſelf a king: they were therefore permitted to inſinuate, that the old ducheſs of York (Cecily Neville) had violated the honor of her huſband's bed; and that conſequently neither Edward, nor Clarence were the ſons of their ſuppoſed father Richard, duke of York; whereas the duke of Gloceſter bore his real ſimilitude, both in the lineaments of his face, and the noble endowments of his § mind.

Not

§ Walpole, p. 37. ſays, "What man of common ſenſe can believe, that Richard went ſo far, as publicly to aſperſe the honor of his own mother, Cicely, ducheſs dowager of York, a princeſs of ſpotleſs character, and was ſtill living?" —Certainly it would be hard to ſuppoſe, that Richard did this by his own mouth; but might he not do it by the mouths of his wicked, and worthleſs emiſſaries?

Not ſatisfied with defaming a lady, who had hitherto borne an irreproachable character; they endeavoured in the next place to fix the imputation of baſtardy on his brother's children, on account of his unlawful marriage with Elizabeth Gray; Edward having been previouſly affianced to the § lady Eleanor Butler. CHAP. III. 1483

And

§ Richard, and his emiſſaries muſt have been the nieeſt politicians of their age; they time every thing ſo exactly:—during the whole reign of Edward the Fourth, I mean from the time of his marrying the lady Gray, to the time of his death, which is no leſs than eighteen years, we have never once heard a ſingle word, from any of theſe gentlemen of this lady Eleanor Butler, till now, till Edward is dead, and both his dear ſons in the Tower; that is, for eighteen years, all theſe good folks are as ſilent as the grave! but ſurely, that would have been the proper time to have divulged this ſecret, when Edward was about to marry the lady Gray: Had they then come forth, with the lady Butler in their hands, they would intirely have prevented not only this ridiculous ſcheme of Baſtardy, but have prevented likewiſe all the civil blood, that was ſhed in conſequence of that unfortunate marriage with Elizabeth Gray:—Then ſince they did not, and ſince the lady Butler herſelf did not vindicate her contract, but retired into a monaſtery, it is plain ſhe was no wife to Edward; for ſhe was ſtill living, and yet made no appearence: His marriage therefore with Gray was undoubtedly lawful and valid: and all this Baſtardizing ſcheme vaniſhes.

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And in the laſt place they maintained, that with regard to Clarence's children, the act of attainder, which had paſſed againſt their father, undoubtedly incapacitated them from ſucceeding to the throne: Therefore they affirmed, that Richard was not only the true heir of blood, but was likewiſe a prince endued with every accompliſhment that could adorn a crown; and none could deſerve, more than himſelf, to wear it.

Theſe reports were ſpread with ſo much art and induſtry, that they were believed by the lower claſs of people; while they gave great cauſe of offence to thoſe noblemen, who wiſhed well to the family of the late king; and particularly to the lord Haſtings, who was ſtill an utter ſtranger to the ambitious deſigns of Richard.

The Protector was not ignorant of his ſentiments; but was in hopes, that at one time, or other, he might be gained over: for which purpoſe, he ſtill continued to maintain a friendly correſpondence with him; for he knew the great influence he bore among the citizens of London; and therefore he thought him a prize worth gaining. He

He likewiſe endeavoured to live upon good terms with the two archbiſhops; and with Morton, biſhop of Ely, a prelate of great eminence in thoſe days: all of whom were ſincerely devoted to the young princes: and this he did, becauſe he judged it for his advantage, to have at leaſt the countenance, and appearance of friendſhip with ſuch nobles; for common eyes muſt always be deceived; and the generality would ſuppoſe him to be both wiſe and good, when they ſaw him daily in the company, and converſation of ſuch wiſe and good men: and therefore he was determined to wear the maſk of ſanctity, as long as he could; or till he ſhould have no farther occaſion for their aſſiſtance; and then he would diſcard, and bid them defiance for ever. CHAP. III. 1483

In order to amuſe them in the mean time, he ſummoned a council, to fix on the day of the coronation of his nephew;—(but took care that he ſhould be dead, before that day arrived:) for which end and appointment, he divided the council into two bodies, that they might not proceed with too great diſpatch, in making preparations for that ſolemnity.

Thoſe

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Thoſe who were his moſt ſervile creatures, he aſſembled at Weſtminſter, attended by Edmund Shaw, the mayor of London, who was blindly attached to the Protector's intereſt: While the nobles, who eſpouſed the cauſe of Edward's family, were convened in an apartment in the Tower; where they met every day, for making the grandeſt preparations, for the approaching coronation;——and ſome of them for their own ‡ deaths.

The commiſſioners of the king's party ſoon found, that obſtacles were continually raiſed by thoſe at Weſtminſter, on purpoſe to retard the performance of whatever they had appointed; and that very few perſons had acceſs to the king, who was attended by a very ſmall number of domeſtics; while his uncle was continually ſurrounded by crouds of courtiers, whom he treated with a degree of complaiſance, which was far from being the characteriſtic of his common behaviour.

Theſe

‡ Sir Thomas More tells us, "that the king's party met at Baynard's caſtle; and that of Richard, at Croſby place:" —it is a matter of indifference; ſo they were but ſeparate: Other authors tell us, that Richard himſelf reſided at Baynard's caſtle; antiently the ſeat of the duke of York his father.

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Theſe circumſtances, joined to the affected delays, which were conſtantly thrown in the way of the coronation, alarmed the lord Stanley, who was the firſt nobleman that began to entertain a ſuſpicion of the myſterious conduct of Richard; and was almoſt convinced in his own mind, that Gloceſter had formed ſome deſigns upon the crown: he was therefore reſolved to watch all his actions with a more ſteady eye; and began to communicate his ſuſpicions to ſome of his colleagues; and ſince he likewiſe found, that they never heard of any thing elſe but objections from the commiſſioners at Weſtminſter; and perceived on the contrary, that all their reſolutions, whatever they might be, were kept a moſt profound ſecret from thoſe at the Tower, he propoſed, that they ſhould immediately agree upon ſome plan, for enſuring the ſafety of his majeſty, and the duke of York; otherwiſe they would loſe an opportunity, which it might never be in their power ‡ to regain.

The

‡ This prediction was but too fatally verified: and it ſeems to have been an overſight in Richard, to have permitted theſe diſaffected lords to aſſemble in the Tower, where they might have accompliſhed his ruin, if they had actually ſet the two princes at liberty.

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The lord Haſtings, who ſeems to have been a dupe to Richard's hypocriſy, ſaid, he was fully aſſured, and moſt firmly convinced, that the Protector's only aim was to humble the queen's faction: and therefore endeavoured to remove theſe juſt ſuſpicions, by affirming, that there was nothing to be feared from the other council: but that every thing was proceeding with all due celerity: and offered to ſtake his life, that, if they propoſed to do any thing to the detriment of the king, or nation, he ſhould be apprized of it by a friend of his, who was one of that committee, and in whoſe judgement and fidelity he could repoſe the moſt intire confidence.

This was his truſty friend Cateſby: but little did he think, that baſe treacherous man was all the while betraying him; and had fully embarked in all the villainous ſchemes of the Protector.

The lord Stanley, and his colleagues ſuffered themſelves to be perſuaded by theſe aſſurances of lord Haſtings, whoſe intelligence they relied on, more than their own conjectures and obſervations; particularly ſince he had an-

nounced

nounced it with ſuch a ſolemn aſſeveration, as to ſtake his own life on the fidelity of his friend: and thus, what lord Stanley ſaid, was true; they loſt that opportunity, which they could never afterwards recover, of defeating the wicked deſigns, and abominable machinations of the duke of Gloceſter. CHAP. III. 1483

Richard therefore now began to think, that as his plot was ripening apace; and haſtening on nearer and nearer to completion, it was high time, either to win over the lord Haſtings to his intereſt, or to hurl him out of the way by a ſpeedy death! equally indifferent to him; for his deſign muſt be accompliſhed, whether Haſtings lived, or died: for this purpoſe he deſired Cateſby to ſound that nobleman, about his opinion of the Protector's title to the crown, which happened then to be the general topic of converſation; and therefore might be entered upon without cauſing any ſuſpicion.

Accordingly, at his firſt meeting with lord Haſtings, and perhaps he met him on purpoſe, he entered on this ſubject; but found him not only averſe from Richard's title; but ready to prove the legitimacy of Edward's childern; and

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and declared, that he would uſe all his power and intereſt, nay would even ſpend the laſt drop of his blood, were it needful, in maintaining the cauſe of the two young princes, againſt all their enemies, of what rank, or condition ſoever they might be.

1483

This declaration we may be ſure flew immediately to the Protector, who would rather have wiſhed to have ſaved that nobleman, becauſe of the great popularity he had gained among the citizens: and therefore he commanded Cateſby to make one trial more upon him; and even to hint the ſcheme that was laid, for the excluſion of the young princes.

Cateſby went again; and in this ſecond conference found Haſtings was more averſe than ever againſt any ſiniſter practices; and firmly reſolved to oppoſe any attempt, that ſhould be made againſt the rights of his maſter's children.——From this moment, Haſtings, thou art a dead man! and Richard has doomed thee to inevitable deſtruction!

With this hell-fraught purpoſe, Gloceſter went the next morning to the commiſſioners at the Tower; and there, (mark the foul diſſembler!)

bler!) he talked to the members, all of them, with the greateſt affability; and accoſted every one of them, particularly the lord Haſtings, with the utmoſt condeſcenſion and familiarity: Then turning to Morton biſhop of Ely, "My lord, ſays he, I hear you have ſome excellent ſtrawberries in your garden at Holborn; let me requeſt the favor of taſting ſome of them:—A ſervant was immediately called, and diſpatched for ſome:—In the meantime, he pretended an excuſe to withdraw, but deſired they would be pleaſed to continue their deliberations, and give the laſt directions, concerning the ſolemnity of the young king's coronation, which had indeed been too long, but unavoidably, poſtponed: while he was withdrawn, they fixed on the 22nd of June:—which afterwards proved to be the very day, on which Richard himſelf was proclaimed king! CHAP. III. 1483

In about half an hour after his departure, he returned, but with an aſpect ſo furiouſly terrific, as ſtruck every beholder with dread and diſmay; he knit his brows; rolled his eyes; bit his lips; and ſhewed every mark of a moſt violent perturbation, and agitation of mind: at laſt, he burſt out with theſe words, "My lords,

"what

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" what puniſhment do you ſay thoſe ſhall de-
" ſerve, who have conſpired againſt my life? "
—The whole council were aſtoniſhed at this queſtion; and knew not who ſhould make him any anſwer: at laſt, lord Haſtings replied in the name of the reſt, that, whoever was guilty of ſuch a crime, deſerved to ſuffer death, as traitors: Before the council had time to recover from their ſurprize, " let me tell you then, ſays he, it is that ſorcereſs, my brother's wife, and her curſed accomplice and confederate, Jane Shore, who have conſpired to do me harm; and, had not the ſingular protection of heaven diſcovered, and prevented their damnable plots and contrivances, I might by this time have been a dead ‡ man! "

Theſe

‡ With regard to the circumſtance, which ſome authors relate, of Richard's expoſing a withered arm Mr. Walpole, p. 103, rejects it intirely; and indeed with great reaſon; for it ſeems to contradict thoſe acts of bravery, which Richard will hereafter diſplay in Boſworth field: But then the aforeſaid gentleman aſks, " cannot a foul ſoul inhabit a fair " body? "—Yes, it undoubtedly may, and has but too often been found to do ſo; and ſeems to have been the caſe of our very hero at preſent: Indeed the whole deſign of his paſſion did not require any ſuch expoſition, it ſeems to have been intended and aimed intirely againſt lord Haſtings.

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Theſe words therefore increaſed their aſtoniſhment and wonder; for every one preſent knew, that if the queen had really intended any ſuch deſign, ſhe would never have imparted it to Jane Shore, who had for ſome time been the miſtreſs of her late huſband: and therefore it was plain to them all, that ſhe was now only mentioned to provoke lord Haſtings to ſome raſh and inconſiderate reply; becauſe that lady lived with him on the ſame § connexions.

This nobleman therefore, who was anxiouſly concerned for the welfare of that lady, could not help obſerving, with a kind of ſarcaſtic ſmile upon his countenance, that "*If* they "were guilty, why to be ſure they deſerved to "be puniſhed."——"How! cried the Protector,

to draw an anſwer from him, by accuſing Jane Shore; and the moment he ſhould make any reply, he was determined to quarrel with him, right or wrong.

§ It is ſaid above, that Jane Shore was now miſtreſs to lord Haſtings; but other authors ſuppoſe ſhe lived with the duke of Dorſet; and there is in the *Acta Regia*, p. 325, a proclamation of Richard, bearing date October the 23d, in which he accuſes, not the lord Haſtings, but the marquis of Dorſet, of having connexions with the wife of Shore: But this is after the murder of Haſtings; and therefore he might have kept her now at this time.

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"tector, in a rage, doeſt thou anſwer me with "thy *Ifs*, and thy *Ands*, as though I had forged "the accuſation? I tell the, *they* have conſpired "againſt my life, and *thou thy ſelf* art one of "their accomplices!"—So ſaying, he ſtruck his hand violently on the table, and immediately a number of armed men ruſhed into the apartment; and turning to lord Haſtings, he ſaid, "I arreſt thee of high treaſon;"—— "Whom, me, lord," replied the aſtoniſhed nobleman! "Yes, thee, thou traitor;" exclamed the Protector; and inſtantly ordered the guards to ſeize, and carry him out to immediate execution.

This affair occaſioned a great tumult in the room; but as none thought of making the leaſt reſiſtance, the hurry and confuſion was ſuch only, as was cauſed by every one's endeavouring to ſave himſelf; and in this buſtle, one of the guards attempted to cleave the head of lord Stanley with his battle ax; but he happened to miſs his aim; and Stanley, by dropping low, and ſlinking under the table, ſaved indeed his life, but at the expence of receiving a dangerous wound: Nevertheleſs, he was preſently dragged from under the table, and apprehend-

ed

ed, together with the archbiſhop of York, and Morton, biſhop of Ely: But as for lord Haſtings, Richard was ſo bent upon his execution, that he ſwore he would not dine, until his head were brought him: So that this unfortunate nobleman was obliged to make a ſhort confeſſion to a prieſt, who happened to be near; and was forthwith beheaded § on a log of wood. 1483

Can ſuch horrid tranſactions, as theſe, have been committed in any country, boaſting either religion, or liberty! or can the abominable perpetrator of them be juſtified, and vindicated; and even repreſented as an angel ‡ of light.

Richard

§ Walpole, p. 49, and other authors aſſure us, that this affair happened on the very ſame day that earl Rivers, Sir Richard Gray, Vaughan, and Haute were beheaded at Pontfract: it ſeems however to have been ſubſequent to that cataſtrophe.

‡ The only crime for which thoſe three noble perſons above mentioned, Rotherham, archbiſhop of York, Morton biſhop of Ely, and Thomas lord Stanley were committed to the Tower, was the arbitrary will of the tyrant, for their having ſhewn too great an attachment to the intereſt of their young king, and too much affection for the whole family of Edward: conſequently the ſame reaſon, which had induced Richard to put them out of a capacity to thwart his views by committing them to priſon, engaged him to detain them there: But he was ſoon obliged to releaſe them.

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Richard however, recollecting that lord Haſtings was extremely popular among the citizens of London, thought it moſt prudent to make ſome apology for his ſudden execution: he therefore ſent for the mayor and aldermen, requiring their immediate attendence in the Tower.

Meanwhile he and Buckingham huddled on ſome ruſty armour, as if their lives had been in danger; and when the city magiſtrates appeared, he aſſured them, that the lord Haſtings, *and ſome others*, had formed a moſt dangerous *conſpiracy againſt his life:* He told them, that he had not been apprized of their deſign, till *after ten in the morning*; when the *evidence* againſt him was found to be ſo ſtrong, full, and convincing, that the *king and council*, though it abſolutely neceſſary to put lord Haſtings to immediate death; ſince they were informed, that he had provided *a great number of people* ready to riſe in his favour: that in ſuch a dangerous dilemma, he, and my lord Buckingham *had been obliged* for the ſafety of their perſons, to put on the very firſt armour they could find: that he had ſent for them *to be witneſſes of the truth*, that they might acquaint the people; and prevent,

vent, or appeaſe the commotions which *ſome ill-affected perſons* might endeavour to raiſe in the city: he hoped therefore that they would do every thing in their power to keep all men quiet. CHAP. III. 1483

The mayor, who was a mere creature of the Protector's, with all the obſequiouſneſs imaginable, acquieſced in every thing he heard, and of courſe was eaſily ſatisfied; for to be ſure he had died very deſervedly: and his mild ſpirited brethren, though equally ſurpriſed and incenſed at the falſity and impudence of the ſtory, yet they durſt not diſcover the leaſt diſapprobation at what had been tranſacted; well knowing that they were within the paws of the lion, and the claws of the bear: they therefore promiſed to obey his orders; and immediately retired with ſome precipitation; glad that they had come off unhurt, and that none of them had ſhared the fate of the unhappy Haſtings.

In a few hours after this conference, a proclamation was publiſhed *in the king's name*, importing that, Whereas the lord Haſtings had formed

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formed *a moſt dangerous conſpiracy to ſeize the king's perſon*, and to *kill the Protector, and the duke of Buckingham*, in order that *he might rule* the nation according to his own pleaſure; *the king*, to prevent ſuch fatal conſequences, had by and with the advice *of his council*, puniſhed him without delay: that no perſon was ever more worthy of death, than lord Haſtings, who had perſuaded the late king to take ſo many ſteps, prejudicial to the liberty and privileges of the people; that he had been the inſtigator and companion of Edward in all his irregularities; and that Haſtings himſelf had ſpent the laſt night in adultery with Shore's wife, the accomplice of all his crimes, and particularly of that, for which he had ſo juſtly ſuffered.

This proclamation contained many other reflections on the character of that nobleman, calculated to leſſen the affection, which the people had always entertained for him, and prevent their compaſſion for his untimely fate: But it did not produce the deſired effect; for all men could eaſily ſee, that the whole tenor of it was founded on the groſſeſt falſities: and ſome remarked, that it was elegantly compoſed, and fairly writen on parchment; a circumſtance which

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which created ſuſpicion, that it was previouſly prepared, with a deſign to be publiſhed immediately after the perpetration of the fact: and it was wittily obſerved by a merchant on that occaſion, That the proclamation was certainly drawn up by the ſpirit of prophecy. 1483

Now, in order to give ſome color of juſtice to theſe unjuſtifiable proceedings, the Protector cauſed the effects of Jane Shore to be ſeized, and herſelf to be ſummoned before the council, to anſwer for the crime of ſorcery and enchantment: But as no proof could be produced, even in that ignorant age, againſt her, ſhe was ordered to be tried in the ſpiritual court, for her adulteries, and incontinence; crimes not new, but plain to all the world.

It was therefore matter of great indignation and ridicule to the people, to find the charge of treaſon and witchcraft, of which ſhe had been ſo weightily accuſed, dwindled at laſt into a penance for her irregularites: which penance ſhe was obliged to perform, by walking in proceſſion from the biſhop's palace to St. Paul's croſs, covered with a white ſheet, holding a lighted taper in her hand, with a croſs carried before her.

This

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This puniſhment ſhe underwent with a behaviour ſo graceful, and yet at the ſame time ſo reſigned; and her complexion, which was naturally very fair, received ſuch an agreeable bluſh from a ſenſe of her preſent ſhameful ſituation, that the penalty of her crime became as it were a triumph over the hearts of the ſpectators, who were very numerous on the occaſion, and all of them unwilling to caſt the firſt ſtone at § her.

This lady was born of reputable parents in London; had been well educated, and married to a ſubſtantial citizen; but unhappily for her character, views of intereſt had been conſulted, more than her own inclinations; and her heart, though naturally virtuous, had been early captivated by the charms of the gay, and amorous Edward, who had ſolicited her favors.

But though ſhe had been ſeduced from her duty by that wanton, and licentious monarch, ſhe ſtill preſerved the eſteem of the world, by her many and great qualifications; and the influence which ſhe acquired, and always maintained over the king, was wholly employed in acts

§ Baker tells us, this penance was performed on a Sunday.

acts of beneficence, and charity: ſhe was ſtill forward to oppoſe calumny, to protect the oppreſſed, and to relieve the indigent; and her good offices, the natural reſult of a tender heart, never waited the ſolicitation of preſents, or the hopes of reciprocal returns: but ſhe lived to feel not only the bitterneſs of ſhame, impoſed on her by this cruel and barbarous tyrant, but to experience in old age and poverty, the ingratitude of thoſe courtiers, who had been long ſupported by her friendſhip, fed by her bounty, and protected by her credit ‡: for, of all thoſe numerous perſons of quality, whom ſhe had formerly obliged, not one appeared to bring her conſolation and relief; in a court, where crimes of the deepeſt dye were common and familiar, the frailties of this one woman were deemed a ſufficient apology for all that rigor and ſeverity with which ſhe was treated: Nor was the iron-hearted Richard ſatisfied with having deprived this fair, unfortunate, but amiable

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‡ She had ſown her good deeds, as Walpole finely obſerves, p. 121, her good offices, her alms, her charities in a court: not one of which took root; nor did the ungrateful ſoil repay her one grain of relief in her penury, and comfortleſs old age.

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able woman, whoſe virtues far outweighed *her* tranſgreſſions, and *his* crimes, (and who was ten thouſand times more worthy than himſelf) of her little ſubſtance, and expoſed her to the ſeverity of public ſcorn; he even made it penal for any one to furniſh her a lodging, or the common conveniences of life!——Oh, thou hard hearted monſter! Thy crimes will one day call for double vengeance on thy head! and then mayeſt thou thy ſelf not find any one to dip even the tip of his finger in water, though but to cool thy tongue!—But it will no doubt give every commiſerating mind a pleaſure to hear, that, notwithſtanding his cruel orders, ſhe ſtill found relief from ſome humane and benevolent hearts; and not only lived to hear of the tyrant's death, but was herſelf alive, even forty four years after the preſent times, in the eighteenth of Henry VIII, when Sir Thomas More ſaw her, and knew her; though that gentleman adds, that ſhe was then far advanced in life, and without any traces of her former beauty; except the great elegance of her perſon, and the regularity of her features, even in old age, which no time could ſubdue, and no calamities, nor hard uſage utterly efface.

The

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The late executions at London and Pontfract, without any form of trial, together with the impriſonment of the archbiſhop of York, the biſhop of Ely, and the lord Stanley, were all ſuch flagrant and glaring acts of tyranny, and deſpotiſm, as can ſcarce be parallelled in the moſt arbitrary ſtates; and plainly diſcovered, that the vile author of them had long formed a deſign upon the crown; at which the whole kingdom was thrown into the utmoſt terror and conſternation. 1483

This was the proper period for him to declare his intention; for now, ſo many oppoſers had been wickedly removed, and ſo many others were ſo intirely ſtript of all power to make any reſiſtance; that all that was requiſite now, and all that remained to be done, was to gain the approbation of the citizens of London; but this was no eaſy taſk; a great deal of art was ſtill requiſite, and a great deal of cunning ſtill wanting, to accompliſh his deſires: he therefore conſulted his confident, the duke of Buckingham, about the means of obtaining their conſent; for, ſhould the people be averſe, it might ſtill cauſe a rebellion; and he might perhaps be dethroned, even before his coronation: They agreed

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agreed therefore to exert their utmoſt endeavours in perſuading the people, that the children of Edward by Elizabeth Gray, both ſons and daughters, were illegitimate: and they imagined that even thoſe, whom their emiſſaries could not convince, would be over-awed and reſtrained from daring to ſhew any oppoſition; and would not even preſume to undeceive their neighbours.

What a lamentable reflexion it is, that men of abilities, and men in the church, whoſe doctrines certainly have not the leaſt connexion with politics, ſhould proſtitute their talents ſo far, as to make themſelves the vile inſtruments of tyranny and falſehood! and inſtead of preaching the pure and genuine doctrines of chriſtianity and virtue, ſhould only ſound the trumpet of ſedition and ſlander! but ſo it will happen ſome times; and ſo it happened now: as in the following inſtance.

The reverend doctor Ralph Shaw, brother to the mayor of London, (both of whom were mere court ſycophants,) was appointed to preach a ſermon at St. Paul's croſs: he choſe for his text on this occaſion the following words from

from the book of Wiſdom, chap. IV. v. 3. CHAP. III. 1483
" Baſtard ſlips ſhall take no deep root §: " He not only expatiated upon Edward's previous marriage with Elizabeth Lucy; (Geneſis LXII. v. 70.) but likewiſe inſiſted upon the illegitimacy of Edward himſelf, and his brother Clarence; (*which he plainly proved from the Book of Revelations!*) both of whom he aſſerted were by perſons, whom the ducheſs of York received to her bed in the abſence of her huſband; (*as you will find it written, in the Book of the Chronicles of the kings of Iſrael!*) " But my lord Protector, continued he (*from Job,*) with an elevated voice, that noble prince, that pattern of all virtues, carries in his air, his countenance, his diſpoſition, and in his whole behaviour, the expreſs image of his illuſtrious father. "

Here, at theſe words, it had been concerted, that Gloceſter ſhould have come into the choir, as

§ The Dr's text is not altogether faithful, at leaſt according to our modern tranſlation; for it is rendered at preſent in the follwing manner; " The multiplying brood of the ungodly ſhall not thrive, nor take deep rooting from Baſtard ſlips:——however, either way it ſerved his purpoſe, and the purpoſe of his vile employers.

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as being prophetically called upon from the pulpit; and that all men's eyes might be filled with the ſight, while their ears were thrilling with the fulſome praiſes of that dear delightful object; and in hopes, that being moved by the eloquence of this divine teacher, they would have ſaluted him king;—here, I ſay, he ſhould have entered with trumpets, drums, and hautbois; but it happened rather unfortunately, that his highneſs had been unexpectedly detained longer than ordinary (on the meditation of ſome murder,) that he did not arrive at church, till the doctor had finiſhed his encomium, and had begun to handle a different topic: But, no ſooner did the Protector make his appearance, than this hireling preacher, like a true court paraſite, turned back three or four leaves, and began again with, My lord Protector, that noble prince,——and went on extolling his virtues with the moſt tedious exaggeration, while Richard walked through the gazing croud to his throne; and with all the patience of a becoming bridegroom, could ſit, and hear his praiſes, and his virtues blazoned forth from that place, which was certainly never raiſed, to be proſtituted and polluted to ſuch unworthy purpoſes.

But

But it is a pleaſure to find, that the voice of this charmer, though he charmed wiſely too, had not the intended effect upon his audience; and Richard had the mortification of beholding the whole congregation hanging their heads in ſullen ſilence and contempt; equally enraged at his conſummate impudence, and the venality of the preacher; who deſervedly loſt all his popularity by this moſt ſhameful proſtitution ‡ of his talents. CHAP. III. 1483

Shaw's Sermon therefore having produced nothing that was intended, the duke of Buckingham, who was noted for his eloquence, undertook to harangue the people on the Tueſday following at the Guild-hall: Thither the mayor, aldermen, and common council in their formalities repaired; when his grace aroſe; and reſuming the ſubject, which the reverend doctor had

‡ Walpole, p. 37, ſcouts this whole affair of Shaw's Sermon, and ſays, "Is it, can it be credible that Richard actuated a venal preacher to declare to the people from the pulpit at Paul's Croſs, that his mother had been an adulteress?"—by his calling him *a venal preacher*, as undoubtedly he was, this gentleman gives up the whole point; for certainly *a venal preacher* will do any thing; and Richard no doubt was his employer.

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had treated with ſo little ſucceſs, he told them, that the lords in council, and the commons of the kingdom, had all of them reſolved, that no baſtard ſhould ever poſſeſs the throne of England; and had determined, that the crown ſhould be adjudged to the duke of Gloceſter, the only ſurviving legitimate iſſue of Richard duke of York: (But —here fetching a deep ſigh,) he added, there was great room to be apprehenſive, that that virtuous and magnanimous prince could not be perſuaded to accept the offer of the crown: Let me however hope, worthy citizens, added he, that if all of you will but join in your united ſolicitations, that noble prince might be prevailed on to aſſume the weighty burden of government; which is certainly too heavy for the ſhoulders of an infant boy: He therefore begged, in the name of the council, and of himſelf, that they would be pleaſed to give their conſent.—Here he ſtopped, and looked round, in hopes of hearing them cry out, Long live king Richard! but to his great aſtoniſhment and diſappointment he found, that the whole hall kept a moſt profound ſilence.

He

He renewed his harangue, with ſome little variation: but ſtill they continued mute and melancholy. CHAP. III. 1483

He repeated his diſcourſe once more:—and ſtill they were dumb. Such aſtoniſhing perverſeneſs alarmed him; and he ſignified his diſpleaſure to the mayor; who obſerved, that it might perhaps ariſe, from their not being accuſtomed to be addreſſed by any other perſon, than the recorder, who alone was properly the city's orator.

That officer, Fitz-Williams, being called upon, and commanded to ſpeak to the people, began the ſame ſubject, went over the ſame ground, and recapitulated all the duke had ſaid; and at laſt deſired them to give a poſitive declaration, whether they would, or would not, have the duke of Gloceſter for their king.

This indeed was putting the queſtion; and this was bringing all to a final concluſion: At theſe words therefore, a confuſed murmur ran through the multitude, which ſeemed to be tending towards an abſolute, and flat refuſal; when ſome of the duke's ſervants, having found

CHAP. III. 1483

found means to get into the hall juſt at this juncture, faintly called out, Long live king Richard! this feeble cry was as faintly ſeconded by a few of the burghers, who had been previouſly bribed for that purpoſe; and then at laſt, the rabble and apprentices, who ſurrounded the gate, threw up their hats, calling out, king Richard! king Richard!

Buckingham hereupon, elated with joy, roſe a ſecond time, and commanding ſilence, "Thanks, worthy citizens, Thanks for this *general* atteſtation of your eſteem; and it gives me the higheſt ſatisfaction to find, that my propoſal to you has been *ſo univerſally* received: I beg then, you will meet me here again tomorrow about this time, and accompany me, to preſent an humble petition to his highneſs, entreating him to aſcend the throne, and manage the reins of government.

Accordingly on the morrow, June 21ſt, the duke of Buckingham met the mayor, aldermen, and a great number of the Protector's partiſans; who all went in ſolemn proceſſion to Baynard's caſtle, in Thames ſtreet, where Richard then reſided: There they preſented their famous petition

tition and addreſs, in the name of the three eſtates; declaring the baſtardy of Edward's children; and beſeeching him to accept the crown, which was his juſt and lawful inheritance:—as they had ſo lately diſcovered. CHAP. III. 1483

The arch hypocrite pretended to be affected, and alarmed at ſuch a concourſe of people, as if he imagined they were come with ſome other intention; and that his life were in danger: at length, when the duke of Buckingham prevailed on him to give the people an audience, he ſeemed to do it with great peturbation; and ſo well did he perform his part, that he came forth tremblingly.

He pretended to be greatly ſurpriſed at their propoſal; which he deſired they would permit him to decline; adding, even with tears in his eyes, (for Crocodiles, they ſay, ſhed tears, when they are about to kill,) that he loved his brother's children above all the crowns in the world; for what are all the crowns in the world when brought in competition with the rights of thoſe dear babes (whom ſhortly I intend to murder!) However, he profeſſed himſelf infinitely obliged to them, for this inſtance of

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of their love and affection to him; of which he ſhould ever retain a moſt grateful remembrance: He adviſed them to live peacebly together, under that ſovereign to whom they owed their allegiance: And he engaged for his own part, that he would exhort his nephew to govern in ſuch a manner, as might render both them, and all others his loving ſubjects, a happy, and a flouriſhing people.

The duke of Buckingham ſeemed to be much diſpleaſed with this anſwer; and declared that the people were firmly reſolved, that none of Edward's children ſhould enjoy the throne of England; for, who would chuſe to be governed by a child? therefore, if he ſtill preſiſted in refuſing to accept the crown, they muſt confer it on ſome other perſon.

This indeed was touching him to the quick; and we now ſhall find, that all the tyrant's qualms of conſcience ſubſide at once; for, this declaration conquers the obdurate loyalty of the modeſt Richard; who with a moſt hypocritical humility did reluctantly—willing comply with their requeſt, and accept of that crown, which they had ſo generouſly beſtowed upon

upon him: He told them, "that ſince they were reſolved to exclude the children of Edward, (not his brother now,) he was willing, more for the good of the nation, than his own intereſt, to accept it; which *though it was his undoubted inheritance*, yet he received it with the greater pleaſure, as the unſolicited gift of a free, and a generous people". CHAP. III. 1483

He was accordingly proclamed king on the next day, the 22d of June; which was the very day, that had been appointed by the council for the coronation of his Nephew!

From this moment he began to act as the legitimate and lawful ſoverign of this land.

Thus ended the ſhort Inter-regnum, but not the Life of Edward V. who was reſerved for a more dreadful cataſtrophe; as in the next Chapter.

THE HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WARS BETWEEN YORK AND LANCASTER.

CHAP. IV.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF RICHARD III.

CHAP. IV.

1483 THOUGH we have already been but too much engaged with the profligate life of this wicked prince, who now aſcended the throne by the name and title of Richard III. yet we muſt, in order to complete the thread of our narration, and cloſe our account of the Civil Wars between the two Houſes of York and Lancaſter, from the former of which this

face p. 304.



RICHARD III.


BRITISH
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this prince was deſcended; we muſt now proceed to relate the tranſactions of his ſhort, but iniquitous reign: CHAP. IV. 1483

Richard the third was the youngeſt of eight ſons of Richard, duke of York, who was killed at the battle of Wakefield: He was born on Monday, October the 2d, 1452, at Fotheringay caſtle in Northamptonſhire; but not in that prepoſterous manner, in which the prejudice of ſome authors, and the partiality of others have repreſented him: Let us therefore paſs over all the idle tales of his birth, and of his childhood; and proceed now to § his reign.

The firſt care then, that Richard ſhewed, after his being proclamed king, was to reward thoſe who had aſiſted him in his treaſonable practices; and to gain over to his intereſt ſuch

§ It is ſurpriſing, ſays Hutton, p. 10. that Richard, who certainly was a man of ſenſe, and an able reaſoner, ſhould (even in his brother's life time) caſt his eye upon a diadem, when there were at leaſt Ten perſons before him, excluſive of Edward the Fourth, who then held it; all in their youth, and the vigor of health: though his perſon was ſmall, his ambition

CHAP. IV.

persons, whose influence he imagined was best able to support him in his future government.

1483

With this view, he conferred the office of Lord High Chancellor on John, bishop of Lincoln §. And just before the coronation, Thomas Rotherham, archbishop of York, was released from the Tower; and the lord Stanley was not only set at liberty, but in recompence for his wound, appointed steward of the Household; not that Richard had any real affection for this nobleman; but this act of favor was purely the effect of his fear; for Stanley's son, the lord Strange, had begun to raise forces in Lincolnshire;

ambition was boundless, and grew to that gigantic size, as to overlook, and overtop Ten heads:

Ingentes animos angusto in pectore versant: —
Their mighty souls in narrow bosoms shew: —

Geo. IV. 83.

and there is no doubt, but he would gladly have destroyed one half of the kingdom, if not of the human race, provided he could have swayed the sceptre over the other: *Moriar, modo imperem*; *Let me die, but let me rule*, seems to have been his motto.

§ Whose Commission bears date June the 27, 1483, at Baynard's Castle in Thames Street; and consequently is just nine days before Richard's coronation.

Lincolnſhire; and Richard thought this the most likely means of preventing the danger of a rebellion. CHAP. IV. 1483

Among theſe promotions, we might have expected to have heard the name of Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham, a man of florid abilities, much power, and more pride; no perſon about court, except the lord Haſtings, could as yet have done more, or ſaid more, for Richard than himſelf; for very probably Richard, might never have acquired the crown, if it had not been for the exertions of this nobleman; and therefore not to find his name firſt and foremoſt on the liſt of promotion, betrays either great careleſſneſs, or great remiſſneſs on the part of our hiſtorians; or elſe Richard muſt have been as ungrateful, as they are negligent.

The univerſity of Oxford interceded in behalf of John Morton, biſhop of Ely; and though Richard bore an irreconcileable hatred to that prelate, he would not, in the commencement of his power, offend ſuch a venerable body by giving them a flat denial; nor would he reſtore the biſhop to the full enjoyment

CHAP. IV. 1483

ment of his liberty; but he choſe a middle way, and committed him to the cuſtody of the duke of Buckingham, who ſent him to Brecknock in Wales: So that the very firſt time we hear the name of this great and eminent perſon mentioned, is to find him promoted to the high office of a goaler.

Richard however will ſoon have cauſe to repent his having taken this ſtep; and that he had much better have given the biſhop his full liberty, than have committed him to the care of this nobleman; as we ſhall ſee preſently.

On the ſixth day of July, (—and Edward died but on the 9th, of April before; ſo that here has been a great deal of abominable work tranſacted within the ſpace of only three ſhort months; ‡) he and Anne his queen were crowned

‡ Hutton, p. lxiv, ſeems to have made Richard rather too precipitate; for he ſays, "The death of Edward IV. opened a new and extraordinary ſcene, in which Richard himſelf was a moſt accompliſhed, and wicked actor: there is not in the whole Hiſtory of the Engliſh kings, a ſimilar inſtance of a prince forming a deſign upon the crown, laying ſo able, and deep a ſcheme, in which were ſo many obſtacles, ſurmounting them all, and gaining the beloved object *in eight*

ed at Weſtminſter in the following ſplendid manner; which I ſhall moſt readily tranſcribe from Hutton's Introduction, p. lxix; becauſe it will give the reader an opportunity of obſerving the form in which that ceremony was ſolemnized in thoſe days. CHAP. IV. 1483

The man, ſays that agreeable author, who is fond of power, is fond of parade: this was Richard's caſe; which, by the way, tends to prove a point, long ſince diſputed, that he was not that miſhapen monſter he had been repreſented: for he who is ill-made, would rather hide,

eight weeks! "—by ſpeaking thus indefinitely, it is impoſſible to know from what time this gentleman computed: but if we compute *eight weeks* from the *Death* of his brother Edward, which happened on the 9th of April, it will bring us only to the 4th *of June*; and if we compute *eight weeks* backwards, from the time of his *gaining the beloved object*, which was the *Crown*, he gained it on the 6th, of July, which will carry us back only eight weeks to the 11th, *of May*: but what either of thoſe days, (the 4th of June, or the 11th of May) was remarkable for, I know not: whereas, if we carry our account on farther back, for only four weeks, and four days more, we ſhall arrive at the very day, on which Edward died, viz. the 9th of April: So that, inſtead of *eight* weeks only, he ſhould have ſaid, *twelve weeks, and four days*; which is very little more, than *three ſhort months*.

CHAP. IV. hide, than diſplay his deformity; for nothing makes a man more conſpicuous, than a crown.

1483

Two days before the ſolemnity, viz. on the 4th, of July, he went with his queen by water to the Tower, where they ſlept that night; (and his two young nephews in the very next room;) and on the morrow, which was the 5th, he rode with his ſon from the Tower, through Weſtminſter, in the higheſt degree of ſplendor; being attended by three dukes, all that England could at that time boaſt of, for dukes were not then ſo plentiful as at preſent: nine earls; twenty viſcounts and barons; eighty knights; with an innumerable company of eſquires; and all the officers of the crown.

This oſtentatious train was deſigned to gratefy Richard, and amuſe the people; for nothing was tranſacted this day, but conferring honors: The duke of Buckingham was called *The glory of the day*; for he outſhone the whole company in the richneſs of his attire; himſelf was dreſſed in a ſuit of blue velvet, embroidered with gold, in imitation of fire, which ſeemed even to kindle, and blaze in the ſun: the rich trappings of his horſe hung down to the ground;

and

and being furniſhed with gold taſſels, were ſupported like a pall by footmen in the moſt coſtly liveries; and in this gaudy proceſſion was taught to be as proud as his rider. CHAP. IV. 1483

This grand calvacade arriving at Weſtminſter hall, Richard created his ſon Edward, prince of Wales §: he likewiſe inveſted John lord Howard with the Garter, and created him duke of Norfolk; he alſo made him earl marſhal of England, and high admiral: Thomas Howard, his eldeſt ſon, was created earl of Surry, knight of the Garter, and what is very remarkable, high conſtable of England, for the day of the coronation only: and at the ſame time he created the duke of Buckingham high conſtable of England for life, which he claimed by inheritance.

This trifling etiquette, ſeemingly of no moment, was probably the cauſe of overturning the

§ Here this gentleman has certainly been misinformed; for the *Acta Regia*, p. 321, poſitively aſſerts, that while Richard was at York, he created his ſon Edward, born at Middleham caſtle, near Richmond, in Yorkſhire, prince of Wales, with great ſolemnity: this was ſome time after his preſent coronation, and during his ſecond at York.

CHAP. IV. 1483

the kingdom, by giving the duke the firſt umbrage, cauſing his revolt, and raiſing that tempeſt, which at laſt beat down the White Roſe: The proud ſpirit of Buckingham could not forgive being denied figuring away in that important office upon the moſt auſpicious day, perhaps in his whole life; and the being condemned to bear the train of a man, whom he had really created king! though he was made high Steward for the coronation, yet, while another was carrying a ſceptre, a ſword, or a crown before majeſty, he muſt be conſigned over to the vile office of following, and holding a train; the diſguſt, which ſeized him, points to this, as the firſt cauſe of his indignation; and others ſhortly were added.

Now, ſince we are arrived at the moſt happy day of Richard's life, the 6th, of July, 1483, a day far ſurpaſſing even thoſe, on which he loſt his brother, won a bride, or even the battles of Barnet, and of Tewkeſbury; we muſt proceed with the narration, till we come to the cloſe of it.

The biſhop of Rocheſter led the van of this grand proceſſion, bearing the croſs: the cardinal,

nal, and the earl of Huntingdon followed with the gilt Spurs; then the earl of Bedford with Saint Edward's ſtaff; after them the earl of Northumberland with a naked Sword without a point, the emblem of *Mercy*; (to his two nephews!) lord Stanley with a Mace, ſignify- *Government*: the earl of Kent on the right hand, and the lord Lovel on the left, each having a drawn ſword with a point, emblems of *Juſtice*; (to himſelf!) next, the duke of Suffolk, who had married Richard's ſiſter Elizabeth, with the Sceptre, emblem of *Royalty*: the earl of Lincoln, ſon to Suffolk (declared afterwards by Richard, preſumptive heir to the crown) with the Ball and Croſs, emblems of *Dominion*: the duke of Norfolk, with the Imperial Crown; the earl of Surry, his ſon, on the left, as High Conſtable of England, with the Sword of State in a rich ſcabbard. CHAP. IV. 1483

Then followed *the King* in a ſurcoat, and robe of purple, (now uſed as mourning!) under a canopy, borne by the barons of the Cinque Ports, the biſhop of Durham on his right hand, and the biſhop of Bath on his left; his train, as mentioned above, ſupported by Buckingham, holding a White Staff, as High Steward

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Steward of England: but no mention is made this day of his dreſs; which is a farther evi-

1483 dence, that rancour from diſappointment had entered his heart the preceeding day.

Then followed *the queen*, and her attendents; firſt an earl, with the principal Sceptre; viſcount Leſlie, bearing another with the *Dove*, emblem of *Innocence:* the earl of Wiltſhire, with the Crown: The queen was dreſſed in robes like thoſe of the king, between two biſhops, under a canopy, like his, borne likewiſe by the barons: on her head was a coronet ſet with diamonds, her train was ſupported by Margaret, counteſs of Richmond, wife of lord Stanley, and mother to Henry earl of Richmond, by a former huſband, Edmund Tudor, earl of Richmond, which Henry was then in exile, and is the very perſon, who cauſes the death of Richard himſelf; as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

Next followed Elizabeth the king's ſiſter, ducheſs of Suffolk, attended by the Baroneſſes, and other ladies.

The whole proceſſion entered the Weſt-door of the abby: The king and queen only were

ſeated,

ſeated, and the choir ſung: Then they aſcended to the altar; changed their robes, for others that were ſlit in various places, to faciliate the idle practice of anointing, which was next performed: after this they retreated, and put on cloth of gold, and returned again to their ſeats. CHAP. IV. 1483

The cardinal archbiſhop, aſſiſted by other biſhops, proceeded to the remainder of the ceremony, by putting the Sceptre into the king's left hand, the Globe into his right, and the Imperial Crown on his head: The queen's Sceptre was put into her right hand, and that with the Dove into her left: on each ſide of the king ſtood a duke; before him the earl of Surry, with his ſword of State: on each ſide the queen, a biſhop; and in front a lady kneeling: The king and queen jointly received the Sacrament: The king then approaching Saint Edward's ſhrine, offered up his crown, (becauſe he knew his Saintſhip could not accept it) originally belonging to the ſaint; and putting on another, returned in the ſame ſtate to Weſtminſter-hall; and afterwards retired for a ſmall ſpace:—(to viſit the queen dowager.)

In

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In the mean time came in the duke of Norfolk, as earl Marſhal, ſuperbly mounted, and covered with cloth of gold to the ground, to diſperſe the croud in the hall.

The coronation being ended, the king and queen ſate down to dinner, about four, in the middle of the hall: the queen on his left, attended by two counteſſes: on his right ſate the the cardinal archbiſhop: The ladies were placed at a long table in the middle of the hall, near the king's: The lord Chancellor, and the Nobles, at another: The lord mayor and aldermen, with knights, and gentlemen, at others.

When the company were ſeated, came in again the duke of Norfolk, as earl Marſhal; the earl of Surry, as High Conſtable; lord Stanley, as High Steward; Sir William Hopton, as lord Treaſurer of the houſehold; and Sir Thomas Percy, as Comptroller: all on foot, and ſerved the king's table with one diſh of gold, and another of ſilver: The queen was ſerved in gilt veſſels; and the cardinal archbiſhop in ſilver diſhes.

By

By this time, night being advanced, the company departed; and Richard bade adieu to the happieſt day he had ever ‡ enjoyed. CHAP. IV. 1483

From

‡ But there is another circumſtance, relating to this coronation, which is very extraordinary; and which plainly proves, that prince Edward, and conſequently his brother, were both of them living on that day, and that is, the following amazing entry in the Ward-robe account of Peter Courteys, mentioned in the *Hiſtoric Doubts*, p. 65, under the title of Richard's *Coronation Roll*; viz. "To lord Edward, ſon of the late king Edward the Fourth, for his apparel and array, that is to ſay, a ſhort gowne made of two yards and three quarters of crymſy clothe of gold, lined with two yards and three quarters of blac velvet; a long gowne made of vi yards D of crymſon cloth of gold, lynned with ſix yards of damyaſk; a ſhorte gowne made of two yards and three quarters of purpell velvett lyned with two yards and three quarters of green damaſk; a doublett, and a ſtomacher made of two yards of blac ſatyn; etc." beſides two foot cloths; a bonet of purple velvet; nine horſe harneſs, and nine ſaddle houſes (houſings) of blue velvet, gilt ſpurs; with many other rich articles, and magnificent apparel for his henchmen, or pages.

"Let no body tell me, ſays Mr. Walpole, that theſe robes, this magnificence, theſe trappings for a cavalcade, were for the uſe of a priſoner:——Marvellous as the fact is, there can no longer be any doubt, but that the depoſed young king walked

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From ſcenes of pomp and magnificence, we muſt now advert to action; and to convince us, that even Richard, ſetting aſide the manner of his acquiring the crown, might have made a good king, his very firſt care, after his coronation, was to appoint ambaſſadors to the different courts of Europe and acquaint them with his acceſion. Such

walked, or it was intended that he ſhould walk, at his uncle's coronation."—This does not appear altogether ſo very evident; for "What concluſions, ſays Dr. Milles in his obſervations on *the Ward-robe account*, (which, as we have ſeen, Mr. Walpole has very unfairly called the *Coronation Roll*, whereas the Dr. affirms it is no *Roll*, but *a Book of Entries*, belonging to the *Ward-robe, paged*, or *numbered on every leaf*,) What concluſions are we to draw from this account? Had Richard been cruel enough to have exacted ſo mortifying a ſacrifice, dreſt up in the mock pageants of royalty, to grace the inſolence of his triumph; yet ſurely he could not have been ſo deſtitute of political wiſdom, as to have exhibited ſuch a ſpectacle; which would moſt likely have kindled the reſentment and fury of all, who might have beheld ſuch unmerited indignity."—This moſt probably would have been the caſe; and therefore inſtead of concluding with Mr. Walpole, that theſe robes were deliverd to prince Edward, with a deſign that he ſhould walk at his uncle's coronation, it ſeems far more likely to conclude, that they were intended for his own; if he had not been ſuperceded, as above, by his uncle.

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Such a wiſe and prudent precaution, intirely freed him from all diſturbance to his reign from abroad; and with regard to the ſituation of his affairs at home, there was not a nobleman in the kingdom, who had ſufficient power, to excite the leaſt commotion; the queen dowager, with her eldeſt ſon the marquis of Dorſet by Sir John Gray, ſtill continued in ſanctuary; and Richard Woodville was obliged to ſcreen himſelf from the vengeance of the new monarch, by living in concealment.

Nevertheleſs, that Richard might ſtrengthen his power with foreign alliances, and ſecure himſelf from all hoſtile attempts from abroad, as he had named commiſſioners to treat with France, about certain violations of the truce, that it might be renewed and confirmed; ſo he now gave a commiſſion on the 13th, of July, to Thomas Hutton (ſome anceſtor perhaps of the hiſtorian) to prolong the truce with Francis II, duke of Brittany; and this ambaſſador had full power to negociate a new treaty with that prince, concerning the delivering up of Henry earl of Richmond.

Having

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1483 Having taken theſe prudent meaſures for ſecuring the friendſhip of foreign princes, Richard reſolved to make a progreſs through the kingdom, to try if poſſibly he could wipe out the memory of his former crimes; but, if they were really of as black a dye, as we have already found them, and ſhall hereafter find others of as deep a ſtain, they no doubt are recorded in more laſting volumes: However, to convince us, that even a wicked man may ſometimes make a good king, he repaired to York, with a full determination to obſerve a moſt ſtrict and impartial diſtribution of juſtice: —Then he ſhould have begun at home.

But before he ſet out for York, he contrived, and reſolved on one of the moſt horrid and abominable deeds, that ever blotted the pages of Hiſtory: he knew that it was impoſſible for things to continue in this ſtate long, while both his nephews were living: not that he had any thing to fear from them, they being too young, and too well guarded, to attempt any thing: but as one ill act generally draws on the commiſſion of another, he reſolved to make all ſafe by putting thoſe princes out of the world: the

method

method by which he did it, was as barbarous, as it was unnatural; which,

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Quamquam animus meminiſſe horret, luctuque refugit,
Incipiam: - - - - -

Though my mind ſhudders, and with grief recoils,
I will relate: - - - - -

Æn: II. 12.

Scarce was the ſolemn pageantry of the above mentioned coronation cloſed, when it was followed by a ſcene ſo truly tragical, that not all the annals of other nations can exceed it in horror, and in woe: but Richard, in order to be out of the way, while it is tranſacting, determined not to be in London; neither did he care to be too far off, in caſe of any accident, that might happen on the firſt diſcovery of the murder of his two young nephews: he pretended therefore to ſet out for York, about the latter end of July; but turning off to the left, went immediately to § Gloceſter.

Here

§ While he was here at Gloceſter, the duke of Buckingham, who had attended him ever ſince the coronation, deſired him to make good his promiſe, relative to the earldom of Hereford: but Richard did not think fit to grant him this juſtice;

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1483 Here Richard ſtaid ſome time; and from hence he ſent an order to Sir Robert Brackenbury, governor of the Tower, to put the two princes to death: but this officer, being a man of honor and integrity, nobly diſdained to have any concern in an action ſo foul, and ſo enormous.—

Sit tibi terra levis! Bleſſed and ever happy may your memory be!

The tyrant then ſent an order in the beginning of Auguſt to Sir James Tyrrel (a name fatal to Engliſh kings!) who engaged to diſpatch them both: to diſpatch but one, would be doing nothing: they muſt therefore both die; both muſt be cut off at once: for what avails the doing things by halves? as eaſily murder two, as one!—convinced by ſuch wicked arguments as theſe, the murderous Richard ſent Tyrrel with an order to Sir Robert Brackenbury to demand the keys of the Tower for one night:

Juſtice; and ſuppoſed he had rewarded him ſufficiently by other acts of kindneſs: The duke received this refuſal with all ſubmiſſive acquieſcence; but from that very moment, reſolved, whatever it might coſt him, to be revenged: with this view, he deſired leave of the king to repair to his ſeat at Brecknock; which was granted; thither he immediately retired; and there we ſhall next find him.



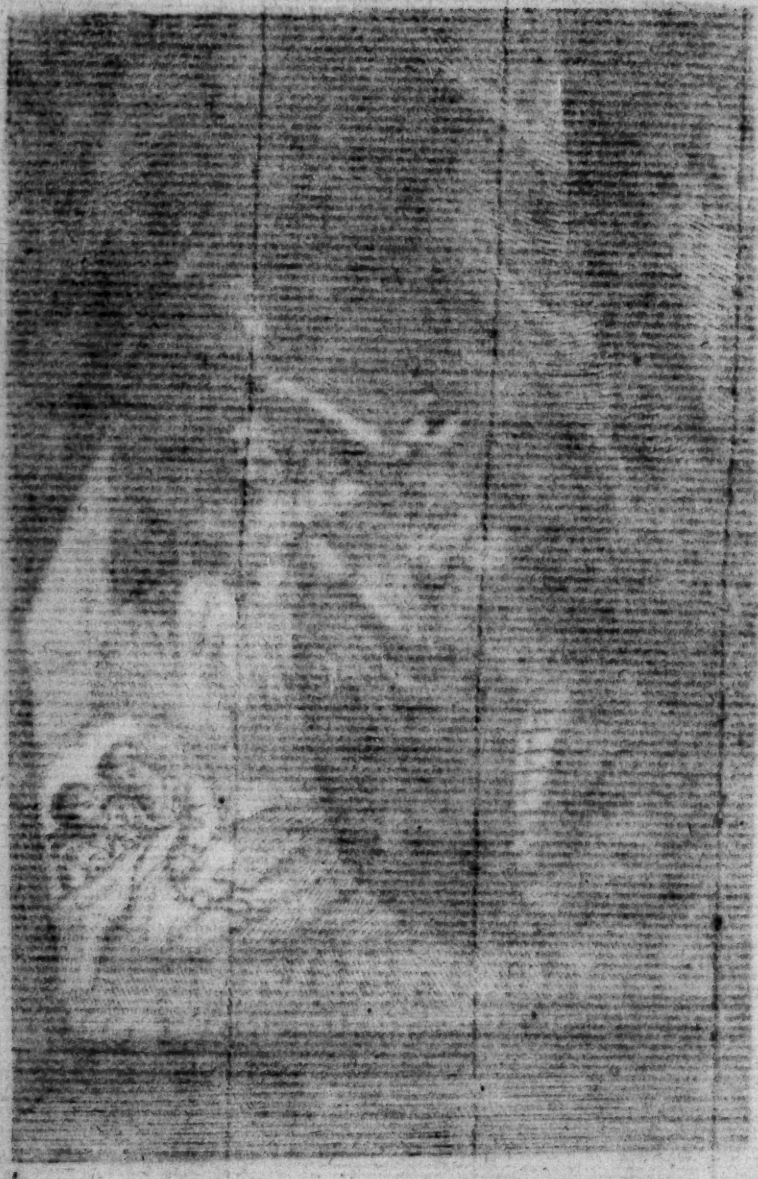


Edward 6th. & his Brother, smother'd in ye Tower.

night!—Indeed!—for one night only! What! can your hellish purpose be compleated in only one short night!—Yes, in one short hour; for the ruffian had duly to take with him three more accomplices, as wicked as himself. Dighton, Forrest, and Slater, and repair in the night to the chamber, or apartment, where the royal infants lay locked, in each other's arms, and little dreaming that they breathed their last! Ordering their one of the villains to secure the door, and sending the two others in, he commanded them to execute their commission: They accordingly found the young princes both in bed, and fallen into a deep sleep; alas! their last!—after having smothered them both with the bed clothes and pillows, they called in Tyrrel, to see that their work was [illegible] done,

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by



David & Bathsheba's brother smothered in flames.

night:—Indeed!—for one night only! What? CHAP. IV.
can your helliſh purpoſe be compleated in only
one ſhort night?—Yes, in one ſhort hour; for 1483
the ruffian had only to take with him three more accomplices, as wicked as himſelf, Dighton, Forreſt, and Slater, and repair in the night to the chamber, or apartment, where the royal innocents lay locked, in each other's arms, and little dreaming that they breathed their laſt! Ordering then one of the villains to ſecure the door, and ſending the two others in, he commanded them to execute their commiſſion: They accordingly found the young princes both in bed, and fallen into a deep ſleep; alas! their laſt!—after having ſmothered them both with the bed clothes and pillows, they called in Tyrrel, to ſee that their work was ‡ done. he

‡ This murder is allowed to have been committed immediately before the creation of Richard's ſon, Edward, prince of Wales; "an event, ſays Dr. Milles, in the Archæology, Vol. 1. 383, to which the lives of the two princes ſeemed to be the only obſtacle:"—but, with all due deference to the opinion of this learned Preſident, this obſtacle was nothing: for we cannot ſuppoſe, that Richard would have heſitated a moment about creating his ſon Prince of Wales,

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he cauſed their dead bodies to be buried under a ſtair caſe, leading to Julius Cæſar's chapel in the White Tower; and their grave was covered with an heap of ſtones: All theſe circumſtances were brought to light in after times; for the death, or rather indeed the murder of the princes was diſcovered in the following reign by the confeſſion of Sir James Tyrrel himſelf, and of Dighton, one of the aſſaſſins, on promiſe of pardon; Forreſt and Slater were dead: and the other circumſtance viz. the place of their burial, was diſcovered in the time of Charles II; for, though Richard, diſſatisfied with the indecent interrment of his nephews, or perhaps with a view of rendering it impoſſible to prove their murder,

Wales, on account of the lives of the princes, as if they were the only obſtacle, when they had been no obſtacle at all to his own accepting the Crown: If they had not been, and they certainly were not an obſtacle to the greater event, they could hardly have been any to the leſſer: much leſs the only one: Beſides; properly ſpeaking, there was not at this time, any ſuch title, as the Prince of Wales exiſting: for that had immediately ceaſed upon the demiſe of the late king; and the young prince Edward his ſon, who at that time was actually Prince of Wales, dropped that title, and was in conſequence proclamed king, by the name of Edward V.

der, had given orders to his chaplain to take up their bodies, and bury them in conſecrated ground; CHAP. IV. 1483

Scilicet, id ſuperis labor eſt, ea cura quietos
Solicitat!
Doubtleſs, this point him moved, this care diſturb'd
His breaſt! Æn. VI. 379.

He ſeems to have done it, merely for the ſake of puzzling all ſearch; and therefore the prieſt muſt either have died, before he could have obeyed his majeſty's command; or elſe have neglected to have performed it; for, notwithſtanding the ſlight and ſuperficial ſearch that was made at the very place of their burial, in the reign of Henry VII, who certainly was intereſted in their diſcovery, they were found, afterwards, as above, in the reign of Charles II, by mere accident; for, on March the 16th, 1675, when there was occaſion to remove a flight of ſtairs in the Tower, and dig into the very place, where they were ſaid to have been firſt interred, the bones of two ſmall human ſkeletons were found at the depth of nine feet; which by their ſize correſponded exactly to the age of Edward and his brother: they were univerſally

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verſally believed to be the remains of thoſe two young princes: for who elſe could have been buried in that place, and at that depth?—they were therefore depoſited, and now continue buried, under a marble monument in Weſtminſter abby; according to the order of king Charles.

Such was the premature and untimely fate of Edward V, only nominal king of England, (for though he was proclamed, he never was crowned;) and his brother Richard duke of York, the elder about Thirteen, and the younger about Nine years of age; both of whom fell a ſacrifice to the ſavage cruelty, and boundleſs ambition of a blood-thirſty, and unnatural uncle; for which crime however, and for all his other manifold offences, he met at laſt with a juſt and condign puniſhment; as we ſhall ſee at the cloſe of his ſhort and unproſperous reign §.

As

§ Dr. Milles, in the Archæology, Vol. I. p. 361, quotes Arnold's account of the young princes' death, in theſe words; "This year deceaſ'd the kynge (Edward IV) entring into the 23de yere of his regne; and the two ſons of kynge Edwarde *were put to ſilence*; and the duke of Glouceſter tooke upon hym the crowne, in July."

As ſoon as this atrocious deed was done, all the domeſtics belonging to the young princes were turned away: which plainly proves that they were no longer in being: and therefore it is a great pity, that we cannot as yet aſcertain the preciſe time of their murder, only that it was done ſome time in the month of July; and moſt certainly after the ‡ Sixth. CHAP. IV. 1483

While

‡ Mr. Strype mentions the extraordinary gratifications, which Richard beſtowed on the murderers; *viz.* to Sir James Tyrrel, the office of Steward of ſeveral lordſhips in Wales, and the marſhes, for life; the chief government of Glamorganſhire, by patent, Auguſt the 9th; the wardſhip and marriage of Robert Arundel Treryſe Eſqr; with the keeping of his eſtate, during his minority; the cuſtody of the caſtle of Guiſnes; and an eſtate in the counties of Devon, and Cornwall, which belonged to Sir Thomas Arundel Treryſe: To Brackenbury, lieutenant of the Tower, *(for huſh-money)* ſeveral manors in Romney marſh; all the lands and tenements in Kent, and elſewhere, formerly belonging to the Earl of Rivers, the Chenies, and Walter Roberts, of the value of 117lb. and upwards; a manor near Berkhamſtead; and the manor of Glaſtonbury; the king alſo appointed him receiver (for his truth, ſadneſs, and diſcretion, as the Letters ran) of the profits and revenues of his lordſhips of Middleton, and Marden in Kent; maſter and operator of the monies; and keeper of the exchange within the Tower, during his life; and keeper of the lions, with the fees: Green, one of the yeomen

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1483 While he continued at Gloceſter, and before he ſet out for York, he appointed Bernard de la Forſſa, ambaſſador to Spain; his commiſſion had been ſealed on the 12th of July; but to whatever occaſion it might have been owing, that he did not immediately proceed in that quality, would be impoſſible to ſay; but it ſeems, that he was ſhortly after made one of the Privy council; and on the 30th of Auguſt following his commiſſion was renewed, and he accordingly ſet out for the court of Spain †.

All

yeomen of his chamber, commonly ſaid to have been his meſſenger to Tyrrel, was made receiver of the lordſhip of the Iſle of Wight, and of the Caſtle and lordſhip of Porcheſter: And Dighton, Tyrrel's horſe-keeper, had by the king's gift the Bailiwick of Aiton in Staffordſhire, during his life.

† It is very remarkable, that in all authors the name of this counſellor and ambaſſador ſhould be degenerated into *Bernard de la Force*; but in my Brother's copy of the original commiſſion, granted by Richard himſelf, it appears as above, *Forſſa*; which makes me ſuſpect, that even in the original writing, it ought to have been written Bernard de la *Sforza*, which is an Italian, or a Spaniſh appellation; whereas *Force* is rather too much an Angliciſm for a foreigner: Another very extraordinary point with regard to this firſt commiſſion is, that it ſhould be dated in the *Acta Regia* on the 12th, of June, which would have been more than three weeks

All theſe tranſactions being accompliſhed, Richard ſet out for York, where he arrived in the beginning of September; and on the 8th of that month was a ſecond time crowned in the cathedral of that city:—as if the putting a ringlet of gold Twice, or even Twenty times, upon his guilty head, could purify his hands from blood! However, with thoſe bloody hands he created his ſon, then ſcarce Ten years old, Prince of Wales, § with all the uſual formalities. CHAP. IV. 1483

During

weeks before Richard's coronation: But according to my Brother's copy above, the fidelity of which may be depended on, we find it was dated July the 12th, that is ſix days after his coronation; and now renewed on the 30th, of Auguſt.

§ According to Hume, "this ceremony was not performed at York, but here at home, on the 23d of January 1484, when the prince was Twelve years of age."—All which muſt be wrong, becauſe contradictory to the *Acta Regia*; Beſides; ſince Richard married Anne his queen in 1473, and they were crowned in 1483, the prince then could be but Nine years old at moſt, inſtead of Twelve.—Dr. Milles, in the Archæology, p. 374, tells us, that Sir James Tyrrel (after the murder of the princes) was appointed maſter of the horſe to the king: and in page 375, quotes the following paſſage from the above mentioned *Ward-robe account*, "To ſeven Hengemen of our ſaid ſoverayne lorde the kynge; and to Sir

James

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During his ſtay at York, he had the pleaſure of receiving Geoffry de Saſiola, ambaſſador from Spain; whom Ferdinand and Iſabella had ſent, on purpoſe to confirm the antient league between England and Caſtile.

He was ſo overjoyed to find his title recognized by that princeſs, who was ſprung from the houſe of Lancaſter, that on the very day of his coronation, he conferred the honor of knighthood on the ambaſſador, and treated him with every mark of diſtinction: and he likewiſe wrote a very affectionate and reſpectful letter to their Catholic Majeſties; and even to their miniſters.

Here too he received the news of the death of Lewis XI, king of France, who died on the 29th of Auguſt; no very amiable character; who was ſucceeded by his only ſon, Charles VIII, a minor, under the guardianſhip of his ſiſter Anne, wife of Philip de Bourbon, lord of Beaujeau: but the duke of Orleans, as firſt prince of the blood, claimed the regency; and

James Tyrrel, their maſter, for their apparail, and array ayenſt the noble creation of my lorde Prynce, at the kynge's cittie of Yorke.

and the conteſt between him and Anne about that dignity, occaſioned ſuch diſturbances in France, as prevented the renewal, or confirmation of the truce with England, of which Richard was ſo extremely deſirous. CHAP. IV. 1483

While the king flattered himſelf with the hopes of enjoying a long, and a peaceable reign, the duke of Buckingham, being diſſatisfied, with his late treatment, formed a dangerous conſpiracy againſt him; a conſpiracy ſo ſtrong, and united, as at firſt was able to ſhake his throne, and at length overwhelm it; though it proved indeed the ruin of the firſt author, and contriver of it ‡; for it was impoſſible that any friendſhip could long ſubſiſt between two ſuch perſons, ſo vicious in their principles, and ſo corrupt

‡ How remarkable it is! that as Edward IV had been ſo blind, and inconſiderate, as to quarrel with, and diſoblige his greateſt, and beſt friend, the earl of Warwick, who was really a good, and a worthy character; ſo Richard quarrelled with, and diſobliged his greateſt, and beſt of friends, the duke of Buckingham, who was very far from being a good, and a worthy character; but he had, like Warwick, been the principal inſtrument of raiſing a king to the throne; and, like Warwick too, he periſhed in his attempt to gratify his revenge.

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corrupt in their morals, as were king Richard, and the duke of Buckingham.

It is commonly ſuppoſed, that their firſt quarrel was owing to the king's refuſing to put the duke in poſſeſſion of that moiety of the Hereford eſtate, which had been promiſed him: he was already in poſſeſſion of the other moiety, as being deſcended from a daughter of Thomas de Woodſtock, duke of Gloceſter, who had married one of the daughters, and co-heireſſes of Humphry Bohun earl of Hereford; and Henry, earl of Derby, afterwards Henry IV, had married the other: by which means, the immenſe property of the Hereford eſtate came thus to be divided: the duke therefore laid hold of the preſent opportunity, and claimed the reſtitution of that part, which had eſcheated to the crown, and which was now in the hands of Richard himſelf; he very readily therefore complied with his requeſt, as being the *ſine quâ non* of Buckingham's engaging in his intereſt; but now, ſince Richard had obtained his end, he became regardleſs of the benefit; the duke had ſerved him faithfully, and now he as unfaithfully rewarded him: but however it appears from

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from Record, that Richard did paſs a grant for that purpoſe; but being afraid to beſtow ſuch immenſe property on a man of ſo turbulent a character as the duke, he afterwards made a refuſal in executing the grant to him:—Then it was no grant:—Perhaps he refuſed ſome other demands of the duke, whom he found it impoſſible to pleaſe:---this is a very unfair *Perhaps*:---Perhaps he determined, according to the common, but abominable maxim of politicians, to embrace the firſt opportunity of deſtroying the man, who had been the chief inſtrument of his elevation; and the diſcovery of this deſign begat the firſt ſuſpicion in the breaſt of Buckingham.

Be this as it might, certain it is, that the duke, ſhortly after Richard's coronation, repaired to his caſtle at Brecknock; where his diſcontent was preſently diſcovered by his priſoner, Morton, biſhop of Ely, a prelate of great ſagacity, and penetration.

Morton had always been a zealous friend to the houſe of Lancaſter; but had yielded to the torrent of the times, on the uſurpation of Richard,

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ard, who found him uſeful in his affairs, and had admitted him into the council: but ſtill, he could have enjoyed that ſtation but a very few weeks; for he was ſeized and impriſoned at the time that lord Haſtings was beheaded: however he continued to preſerve the warmeſt attachment to the Lancaſtrian intereſt; and ſagaciouſly obſerving that there was ſomething gloomy working in the breaſt of Buckingham, he by inſenſible degrees inſinuated himſelf into his confidence; and improved his reſentment into revenge, by inveighing againſt Richard; whom he juſtly repreſented as a cruel, bloody, and barbarous tyrant; who not ſatisfied with having ſhed the beſt blood in the nation, and uſurped the crown, but had compleated his inhumanity by the murder of his two nephews.

This was a topic, which Buckingham liſtened to with pleaſure; he therefore embraced theſe ſuggeſtions with great avidity; and in the violence of his paſſion, denounced vengeance on this monſter of vice and wickedneſs, this ungrateful tyrant.

Morton

Morton is ſaid to have adviſed him to claim the crown for himſelf, as being deſcended from Edward III; according to the following § Table. CHAP. IV. 1483

" How much more then, continued the biſhop, would the whole nation rejoice to live under the government of ſo excellent a prince as your Grace: But, if you will not yourſelf accept of the ſovereignty, I entreat you, by the faith you owe to God, by your affection to the country, which has given you birth, and by your

§ EDWARD III.

THOMAS of WOODSTOCK

ANNE his ſole Heireſs
married to
EDMUND earl of STAFFORD

HUMPHRY, duke of BUCKINGHAM

HUMPHRY, lord STAFFORD,

HENRY STAFFORD,
The preſent duke of BUCKINGHAM.

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your own regard for the Engliſh nation, that you will, in your high and princely wiſdom, think
1483 on ſome means of reſcuing theſe unhappy realms out of the hands of a mercileſs and unrelenting tyrant: for all the hopes of the nation are centered in you; and to you alone do they fly for ſuccour, and relief."

When the biſhop had done ſpeaking, the duke continued ſilent for ſome time: the biſhop changed colour, as fearing he had ſaid too much, and was greatly diſconcerted; expecting that his propoſal would have been received with joy, and alacrity.

The duke perceiving the agitation he was in, ſaid, "Fear nothing, my lord, I will keep my promiſe with you: Tomorrow we will talk more on this ſubject: for the preſent, let us now go to ſupper."

The next day, the duke ſent for the biſhop into his apartment; and then, renewing his former diſcourſe, ſaid; "As I was travelling homewards from Gloceſter, where I left the tyrant, while I was meditating on theſe things, I met, between Worceſter and Bridgenorth, the lady

lady Margaret, counteſs of Richmond; who, as you know, is at preſent wife to lord Stanley, and the rightful, and ſole heir of John, duke of Somerſet, deſcended from John of Ghent; whoſe title, I had forgot, till I ſaw her on my way; and then I remembered, that both her claim, and the claim of her ſon, Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, were bars to my pretenſions, and precluded me from looking up to the Imperial crown of theſe realms: I had ſome diſcourſe with her about her ſon; we then parted; ſhe to Worceſter, and I to Shrewſbury: In meditating on what had paſſed, I came to a reſolution in my own mind, to ſpend my life and fortune in ſo glorious an enterprize, as to marry the princeſs Elizabeth, our late king's eldeſt daughter, to that earl of Richmond, if the mothers of the princeſs, and earl, can be ſo far reconciled to each other, as to conſent to the marriage; by which alliance they would unite the two families in one, and thereby compoſe all their differences; and ſettle all the diſputes between their two families for ever."

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The biſhop rejoiced exceedingly at this free declaration of the duke; for he immediately ſaw

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ſaw that this marriage was a moſt prudent thought; and therefore he adopted the expedient; as at once being conformable to juſtice, and agreeable to equity; that it was wiſely calculated to extinguiſh the flames of thoſe Civil Wars, in which the kingdom had been ſo long involved; and by which it was ſtill bleeding.

Before we proceed any farther, it will be proper for the better underſtanding the ſequel of this Hiſtory, to ſhew more diſtinctly the nature of the earl of Richmond's claim to the crown; and thoſe objections, to which it was liable.

JOHN of Ghent, duke of Lancaſter, fifth ſon of Edward the third, had three wives: *Firſt*, Blanche of Lancaſter; by whom he had Henry earl of Derby and Hereford, afterwards Henry IV; all whoſe poſterity were at this time extinct; and by this wife he had likewiſe a daughter named Philippa, who married John I, king of Portugal, and left a numerous iſſue, of whom nine princes and princeſſes were now alive; but they being all foreigners were excluded the crown: John of Ghent's *Second* wife was Conſtantia of Caſtile; by whom he had no child, except one daughter, named Katharine

wife

wife to Henry III, king of Caſtile; and from whom was deſcended in a direct line queen Iſabel, conſort of Ferdinand, king of Arragon: His *Third* wife was Katharine Roet, widow of Sir Otho de Swinford; ſhe had been his concubine, during the life of his ſecond lady; after whoſe death, he married this Katharine Swinford, his miſtreſs, and obtained an act of parliament for legitimating her children, before marriage: but it is obſervable, that thoſe children were not legitimated by the name of Lancaſter, but by that of Beaufort, which was the name of the Caſtle, where they were born: beſides; the act rendered thoſe children capable of enjoying only eſtates, titles, honors, and offices; but makes no mention of any right of ſucceſſion to the crown: John Beaufort, the eldeſt of thoſe legitimated children, was created duke of Somerſet, and left ſeveral children, of whom the ſecond, named John, ſucceeded to the title, after the death of Henry, his elder brother: this John left but one daughter, whoſe name was Margaret, and married to her firſt huſband Edmund Tudor, earl of Richmond, ſon of Owen Tudor, a Welch gentleman;

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man; and from this marriage was deſcended that Henry, earl of Richmond, of whom we are now ſpeaking ‡.

However, whether baſtards, or no baſtards, it was certainly much better for the nation in general to have peace and tranquillity reſtored to theſe long diſtracted realms, than that Civil Wars ſhould any longer ravage the kingdom, or ſuch tyrants reign.

Margaret Somerſet's father dynig without iſſue male, his younger brother Edmund, enjoyed the title, as above; but he, and all his deſcendents, except Henry duke of Buckingham, having periſhed in the Civil Wars, Margaret, and her ſon Henry, were the only ſurviving

‡ So that, as Mr. Walpole obſerves, p. 40, "If the marriage of Edward the Fourth with the widow Gray was bigamy, as ſome at that time wanted to prove, and conſequently null if proved, then what became of the title of Elizabeth of York, who was deſcended from that marriage, and was afterwards the wife of Henry the Seventh? What became of it? why a baſtard of the houſe of Lancaſter, matched with *a baſtard of the houſe of York*, to make up a good title to the crown; and as far as two negatives make an affirmative, they did ſo:"—the latter part of this gentleman's ſyllogiſm is untrue.

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viving branches of that family; and conſequently heirs of the houſe of Lancaſter †. For Swinford's children, as we obſerved, though they had been made legitimate, yet ſtill they were not permitted to aſſume the name of Plantagenet, or of Lancaſter; nor did their legitimation extend to the crown; and yet the earl of Richmond's right was tacitly acknowledged, by the frequent and ſtrenuous endeavours both of Edward, and Richard, which they had uſed to get him into their poſſeſſion; for had they looked upon it that he had no right, and that the nation would have rejected him, they certainly would not have been at any pains about him; their

† Thus have we ſeen, ſays a certain noble writer, the princes of York, and Lancaſter butchering one another in ſuch a manner, that the right of the York family centered in Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of Edward the Fourth; and the pretenſions of the houſe of Lancaſter, ſuch as they were, were allowed however by the whole Lancaſtrian party, to belong to Harry Tudor, earl of Richmond; to whom they all now began to turn their eyes, and look up to him, as the only ſupport of their party: The faction of York deteſted Richard for his uſurpation and cruelties; and the faction of Lancaſter hated him for his name and family: for neither the great qualities, which he really poſſeſſed, nor the good qualities, which he affected to have, could reconcile the nation, or mankind to his barbarities.

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their apprehenſions therefore betray a conceſſion of his claim: he only wanted friends to ſupport him; thoſe friends at laſt ſtood forth in his favor.

The intereſt of this nobleman muſt about this time have been very conſiderable, though ſuppreſſed in ſilence; and his title acknowledged by all the ſupporters of the houſe of Lancaſter; otherwiſe it is natural to think, that a perſon of Buckingham's ambition would have claimed the crown for himſelf; but we have ſeen him lay aſide all hazardous views of his own, and ſhall find him actuated ſolely by a ſpirit of revenge againſt Richard, who was certainly very much to blame, to have excited the reſentment of ſuch a nobleman; for we can hardly conceive, that a perſon of his character would have embarked in ſuch a undertaking from any other motive.

Whatever may be in this, he, and the biſhop, after ſeveral conferences, agreed to unite their intereſts, and reſt all the hopes of their ſucceſs intirely on the concurrence of their friends; among whom they were to make the marriage between Henry and Elizabeth the preliminary article of their engagement.

For

For this purpoſe they agreed to impart the reſult of their determinations to the old counteſs of Richmond, to that very lady, who had ſo lately walked in proceſſion at Richard's coronation, that ſhe might find the moſt proper occaſion of communicating their deſign to her ſon; which would be the more readily accepted, and entertained, as coming from her, than any third perſon: and they earneſtly requeſted her to procure the conſent of the queen dowager, with reſpect to the diſpoſal of her daughter; for without gaining that point, all their future proceedings might prove abortive. CHAP. IV. 1483

The biſhop having formerly had ſome knowledge of one Reginald Bray, who was even now ſteward to the counteſs; he ſent for him to Brecknock; where he was admitted into the ſecret; on which he promiſed to uſe his utmoſt endeavours on both ſides.

This man had no ſooner departed, than the biſhop entreated the duke to allow him to repair to his dioceſs; but Buckingham, who was a man more deeply verſed in courts, and all the intrigues, and jealouſies of kings, told him, that it would be the very means of defeating their

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their whole project, and conſequently a moſt imprudent and impolitic ſtep; becauſe it would awaken the ſuſpicious thoughts of the tyrant, if he was to hear, (and hear he moſt certainly would,) that you was at large.—So nice a point is it always to be upon the guard; and to conſider with the utmoſt caution, what may be the event of every action, before it be actually done! But, who can thus always foreſee?

The prelate however being now indulged with greater liberty than before, took an opportunity of making his eſcape to Ely, and ſhortly after croſſed the ſea to Flanders: from whence he ſent a letter to the duke, excuſing the ſtep he had taken, exhorting him to proceed in his enterpriſe, and aſſuring him, that he could be of much greater ſervice to him on the continent, than in England, ſince he now had immediate acceſs to the earl of Richmond himſelf.

This elopement he ſeems to have made, not from a ſpirit of treachery, for that was far from his diſpoſition, or deſign; neither was it from a want of zeal in the cauſe, which he had entered into; but merely from a regard to perſonal ſafety, and to promote the preſent undertaking; for

for as he knew the fire and impetuoſity of the duke's temper, he was afraid of being involved in ſome raſh attempt, that might have coſt him his life, before their deſign could be brought to maturity: whereas now he could proceed with calmneſs and deliberation; which are always more likely to bring ſuch affairs to perfection, than hurry and precipitation. CHAP. IV. 1483

Beſides, he now found himſelf free and intirely out of the tyrant's reach; he therefore thought himſelf doubly happy in his eſcape.

Meanwhile the counteſs of Richmond, being now fully informed of their plan, proceeded on her ſide with equal prudence and precaution: ſhe ſent Bray back again to the duke, to aſſure him, that ſhe heartily concurred with them, and approved of their ſcheme; and was greatly obliged to them, for the confidence they had, repoſed in her conduct: and at the ſame time declaring, that ſhe would endeavour to obtain the conſent of the queen dowager to the intended marriage, which ſhe had not the leaſt doubt of accompliſhing: She ſaid, ſhe did not queſtion, but ſhe ſhould eaſily meet with ſucceſs in this negociation, as the queen ſtill continued

in

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in ſanctuary at Weſtminſter, bewailing the untimely death of her two ſons, and imploring heaven to take due vengeance on their inhuman and unnatural murderer.

But as the counteſs herſelf was of the family of Lancaſter, and the queen of the family of York, conſequently in a political view muſt be declared enemies to each other, ſhe very judiciouſly thought, that a perſonal interview might have occaſioned ſome grounds of ſuſpicion on the queen's ſide, who might imagine, ſhe came with an intention to betray her; ſhe therefore very prudently ſent Dr. Lewis, her phyſician, a Welch gentleman, to wait upon Elizabeth; for his profeſſion could give no alarm, nor raiſe any ſcruples in the minds of thoſe who attended her; for it might ſeem as though he had been ſent for, at her own requeſt. His inſtructions were to inform the queen of what had been propoſed in favor of herſelf, and children, againſt the barbarous uſurper.

Elizabeth liſtened to the meſſenger with joy and rapture: ſhe aſſured him, that all the friends of her late huſband would, through her mediation, moſt readily adopt the cauſe of Richmond: but

but ſhe inſiſted upon it, that the promoters of this plan ſhould engage that nobleman, on oath, to eſpouſe her daughter Elizabeth, or in caſe of her death, her younger ſiſter Cicely; to either of which marriages ſhe would moſt readily give her conſent. CHAP. IV. 1483

Every thing being thus far ſettled between the queen dowager, the counteſs of Richmond, and the duke of Buckingham, to the mutual ſatisfaction of all parties, each of them began to awaken the dormant zeal of their old friends and adherents; and in this attempt their endeavours were attended with uncommon ſucceſs; for every one ſhewed an ardent deſire to embark in the cauſe of the unfortunate queen dowager, whoſe ſituation had been for a long time truly deplorable.

Richard, by his cruel and tyrannical behaviour, had expoſed himſelf to the hatred and averſion of the whole kingdom; all the partiſans, even of the houſe of York, were to a man enraged againſt him, on account of the murder of the two young princes; all the Lancaſtrians moſt readily engaged in a project, that tended to replace a prince of that family once more

on

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on the throne of England: and all moderate people, who were truly concerned for the welfare of the nation, did not fail to applaud a deſign which, if ſucceſsful, as they hoped it would be, muſt infallibly extinguiſh that ſpirit of civil diſcord and diſſention, with which the kingdom had been ſo long harraſſed, and afflicted.

The duke of Buckingham, who was deſervedly looked upon as the original author, and chief conductor of the enterprize, began to employ his friends in Wales; and gave them commiſſions to enliſt men, as privately as poſſible, that he might be able to take the field at once, as ſoon as ever it ſhould be found proper to avow his intention: at the ſame time, he entered into engagements with ſeveral gentlemen in Dorſetſhire, and Devonſhire, and Cornwall; who undertook to aſſemble an army, and join the earl of Richmond at his firſt landing.

This was likewiſe his own deſign; while others of his adherents were ordered to raiſe inſurrections in different parts of the kingdom; that Richard's forces might be divided, and his attention diſtracted by the multiplicity of dangers,

gers, crouding in upon him from every part of his dominions, and threatening him from every quarter. CHAP. IV. 1483

The marquis of Dorſet, who had lately found means to leave ſanctuary; his brother Sir Richard Woodville; the biſhop of Exeter; his brother Sir Edward Courtney; and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, moſt readily concurred in this enterprize.

The counteſs of Richmond diſpatched two meſſengers, Chriſtopher Urſewick, her chaplain, who was ſoon after followed by Hugh Conway Eſq; to her ſon in Brittany, to acquaint him with the ſcheme, which had been formed in his favor, and the terms on which he was invited to land in England.

He then reſided at Vannes, where he had been kept for ſeveral years in a kind of honourable confinement; in conſequence of a treaty concluded between duke Francis II, and Edward IV. The earl was not more overjoyed at the invitation of his friends in England, than perplexed about the means, how to return to his native

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native country in a proper and ſuitable manner: he had no forces at his command; no money in his coffers; and was no ſtranger to the convention between Edward and the duke of Brittany concerning the ſecurity of his perſon: he knew likewiſe that Richard had more than once made ſome ample propoſals for the ſurrendering him up; all which however the duke of Brittany had with a truly noble and magnanimous ſpirit rejected.

In this ſituation the earl of Richmond knew, that he could not poſſibly avail himſelf of his preſent good fortune, without the knowledge, and concurrence of that prince: he therefore took a very wiſe and prudent, but at the ſame time hazardous reſolution, of freely imparting to him every circumſtance of the ſcheme propoſed on his behalf, and earneſtly entreated his favor, friendſhip, and aſſiſtance; which in caſe of ſucceſs, would bind him in his intereſt for ever.

He found the duke more favorably inclined to his cauſe, than he could at firſt have expected: It is true, the duke told him, that he had entered

entered into an agreement with Richard concerning him; but then he was a perſon of ſuch abominable principles, that he utterly abhorred his memory, and deteſted him for his tyranny and inhumanity: beſides, you know, continued he, that I myſelf have ſome pretenſions to the earldom of Richmond in England, which my anceſtors enjoyed: however, I ſhall not bind you to any engagement on that head, but ſhall freely relinquiſh all ſuch expectations, provided I can only be the happy means of placing you, my friend, on the throne of England. CHAP. IV. 1483

This, is ſaid, to have been the ſubſtance of their conference; and in concluſion, the duke engaged to ſupply him with men, money, and tranſports: And yet notwithſtanding all this fair proſpect, we ſhall find, that it was with great difficulty, through the ſtrange fatality of courts, that Henry found means to eſcape from Vannes; not indeed through any fault of the duke himſelf, but through a baſe and treacherous miniſter; as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

In the mean time, Henry, having ſettled this

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material point, diſpatched a meſſenger with letters to his mother, and the duke of Buckingham; acquainting them with the ſteps he had taken, and the great ſucceſs he had met with, deſiring they would be ready to meet him in the beginning of October next.

This intelligence immediately put all the confederates in motion; and each of them with alacrity repaired to the poſt aſſigned him, in order to aſſemble a body of forces, or raiſe inſurrections.

Cautious however and circumſpect as they were in all their proceedings, they could not conduct their ſchemes with ſo much ſecrecy, as to eſcape the penetrating eye of Richard, whoſe mind was always filled with jealouſy and diſtruſt; the common fate of tyrants; and indeed it is almoſt impoſſible, where ſuch numbers are concerned, to prevent a diſcovery, ſooner or later: He therefore preſently found, that there was ſome plot formed againſt him, though he was ſtill ignorant of the quarter, from which the ſtorm was moſt likely to burſt: In order however to be in ſome meaſure prepared, as he was now at York, he marched from thence;

and advanced more into the heart of the kingdom, that he might be able, as from a center, to diverge every way: he likewiſe iſſued out orders in every county, commanding the troops to be in readineſs to march at the firſt warning. CHAP. IV. 1483

He ſtrongly ſuſpected the duke of Buckingham to be the author of all theſe commotions, becauſe he had left the court in diſguſt; and was the only nobleman in England, who by his wealth, intereſt, and capacity, could form, and execute a ſcheme of ſo tremendous a nature; theſe, joined to the eſcape of the biſhop of Ely, carried the peſtilential appearance of the duke's contrivance and inſtigation.

Alarmed at theſe reflexions, he commanded the duke to court, that he might take his advice on ſome affairs of importance.

Buckingham deſired to be excuſed waiting on his majeſty at preſent, on pretence of indiſpoſition; but as he hoped his diſorder would not be of any long continuance, he would certainly obey his commands, on his firſt convaleſcence.

The

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The king's ſuſpicions now were but the more confirmed by this reply; for ſubjects, whether alive, or *dead*, muſt obey their ſovereign's Will; he therefore inſiſted upon ſeeing him, by a peremptory order, that would admit of no apology.

To this the duke replied, and ſpoke out at laſt, to ſome purpoſe; he told him, he did not think proper to put himſelf into the hands of a tyrant; nor would he ever again come under the power of his mortal clutches: I know thee, wretch, too well, to think of truſting myſelf within thy graſp; thou, that haſt broke through every tie of kindred, honor, and humanity.

After this declaration, he knew no medium was to be kept; and that he muſt now unavoidably proceed to extremities: He accordingly muſtered all his troops, and began his march towards the Weſtern counties, where he hoped to be re-inforced by other confederate powers.

Though Richard did not expect to find Buckingham ſo well prepared, yet he had taken ſuch

ſuch wiſe precautions, as enabled him to bring an army into the field immediately againſt him; and having ſtationed himſelf at Leiceſter, he reſolved to wait there, till he received ſome certain intelligence of the enemy, and his forces; nor did he wait long; for, preſently after receiving the duke's declaration, as above, he heard that the confederates were in arms in the Weſt, with the duke at their head: upon which he reſolved to go in queſt of the enemy, and give him battle, before he ſhould be joined by any more of his allies. CHAP. IV. 1483

He would however have found it very difficult to have prevented the junction of another large body of the confederates from the South, had they not been kept aſunder by an unlooked for, and unforeſeen accident.

The duke had by long and rapid marches advanced to the North ſide of the river Severne, which he intended to croſs, oppoſite the city of Gloceſter, in order to join his friends from the counties of Devon and Dorſet; but, by the heavy and continued rains, which happened to fall at this juncture, the river had ſwelled ſo high,

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high, and overflowed its banks in such a manner, as to deluge the whole adjacent country, where the army lay; so that for ten days together he could neither advance any farther, nor cross the river, nor find subsistence for his army.

His Welsh followers, moved by their superstitious opinions, looked upon this ordinary event as an ill omen; and being distressed likewise for want of provisions, deserted in such numbers, and so fast, that in a few days time, the duke was totally abandoned; and left only with a very small number of domestics.

In this wretched condition, he saw no other resource, than that of dismissing them all, and endeavouring to conceal himself, till he should be able to retrieve this unfortunate disaster, and once more make head against the tyrant.

But he, alas poor man! was doomed to experience a much harder fate, than falling in the field of battle; for, having taken refuge in the house of one Ralph Banister of Lacon-hall, near Wem, in Shropshire, who once had been his servant, he thought himself happy and secure; and

and no doubt he would have been ſo, had not Richard immediately advanced into thoſe parts; and coming near the Severne, he found himſelf under the like dilemma, that Buckingham had been; but obſerving that the enemy were gone, and being appriſed, that they had diſperſed, and not retreated, he iſſued out a proclamation on the 23d of October, offering a reward of a Thouſand pounds to any perſon, who would bring him the head of Buckingham; or diſcover the place of his retreat. CHAP. IV. 1483

Baniſter, that wretch, who owed his whole living and fortune to the liberality of the duke, and his father, was ſo abandoned, and perfidious a villain, as to betray his maſter and benefactor, for the ſake of this infamous reward!— Thy money periſh with thee, miſcreant as thou art †!

This

† The reader no doubt will be glad to hear, that this abominable wretch never received a ſhilling of that price of blood: for which Richard is ſaid to have given this reaſon, That he did not deſerve it; for the man who had betrayed ſo good a friend, would betray any one elſe. But perhaps a better reaſon was, that his majeſty had not a thouſand pounds to give; for he had been conſtrained through mere poverty to

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This wicked wretch diſcovered the duke's retreat to John Mitton, ſheriff of Shropſhire, who went with a band of armed men, encompaſſed the place, and ſeized the unfortunate duke, diſguiſed like a menial ſervant, in an old piled black cloak, and hid in the little orchard near the houſe.

The ſheriff immediately conducted him to Shrewſbury; where he earneſtly begged he might be admitted to the king's preſence, who was then there: but this was a favor the ſheriff could not grant; and the king perhaps would have denied: Without any farther ceremony therefore the duke was beheaded on Sunday, the 2d, of November, in Shrewſbury market place,

to ſell the crown plate, but a few months before. We are told in the *Acta Regia*, p. 322, that Baniſter in his extreme old age was found guilty of murder; and ſaved only by his clergy: that his eldeſt ſon fell mad, and died in a hogſty: that his ſecond was deformed: his third drowned in a ſmall puddle of water: and that his eldeſt daughter was with child by one of his carters; and died miſerably: But however, the truth is, that Richard did give Baniſter the manor of Ealding in Kent; which he poſſeſſed about eighteen months; when Henry the Seventh reſcinded the grant, ſeized the manor, and reſtored it to Buckingham's ſon, the legal owner.

place, on the very ſpot, which is now covered by the Butter-croſs, on the top of Pride-hill; which execution was performed at only a word ſpeaking; for in thoſe days little or no form of judicial proceedings was obſerved in trials; the tyrant had only to command any one's head to be ſtruck off, who had been in arms againſt him, and it was done; as we may obſerve has really been the caſe with many, who have been executed, during the whole courſe of theſe Civil Wars. CHAP. IV. 1483

All this tranſaction happened only four months after the duke had ſate the crown on Richard's head.

Such was the tragical end of Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingam, who had married Katharine, daughter of Richard Woodville, and ſiſter to the queen dowager.

The duke's friends, who waited for him on the other ſide of the Severne, being informed of the deſertion of his Welſh troops, diſperſed immediately; ſome concealed themſelves in the houſes of their friends with better ſucceſs, than the unfortunate duke had done: others took refuge

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fuge in ſanctuaries; and others returned home; but the greateſt part of them ſet ſail for Brittany, to join the earl of Richmond; among whom was the marquis of † Dorſet.

While

† Before we cloſe this memorable year 1483, it will be proper to obſerve that in the *Acta Regia*, p. 325, there is a moſt remarkable memorandum, viz. that "When the king was at the town of Granſton in Pembrokeſhire, he wrote to the biſhop of Lincoln, then Chancellor, to ſend him the Great Seal; and that from the 19th of October, when he received it, he kept it till the 26th of November following; after which he reſtored it to the biſhop of Lincoln again." Probably continues the *Acta*, the king wanted to have *ſome irregular acts* ſealed; to which he thought the Chancellor would refuſe to affix the Great Seal." And then follows a Proclamation for apprehending the marquis of Dorſet: and a Commiſſion for appointing Sir Ralph Aſhton, vice Conſtable of England for the trial of thoſe perſons, who had been concerned in Buckingham's rebellion; dated at Coventry the 24th of October, 1483: But why theſe two Acts (and there are no others mentioned) and particularly the latter, ſhould be deemed ſuch *irregular Acts*, that the king had a mind to ſeal them himſelf, does not ſo evidently appear: It ſeems more probable, that the Grants made to James Tyrrel and the other aſſaſſins, were thoſe *irregular acts*, mentioned above. The manner and form of the king's requiring and returning the Great Seal, is ſo curious, that the learned reader will be pleaſed to ſee the following copy, as tranſmitted to me by my Brother.

Memorandum

While Henry earl of Richmond was making theſe preparations for aſſerting his claim to the Engliſh throne, Richard was ſacrificing a great number of victims to his anger and revenge; and

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Memorandum; quod duodecimo die menſis Octobris, anno Regni domini Ricardi regis Tertii primo, idem dominus rex mandavit Literas ſuas miſſivas, privato Signeto ſuo ſigillatas, Venerabili patri Johanni epiſcopo Lincolinenſi, Cancellario Angliæ; in quibus inter alia continebatur quod dominus Cancellarius, ob diverſas cauſas ipſum domnium Regem moventes, poſt viſum Literarum domini Regis prædictarum, Magnum Sigillum ſuum in cuſtodia præfati domini Cancellarii exiſtens, ſalvó et ſecuré eo citius quo commodé poterit, eidem domino Regi mitteret. Super quo idem dominus Cancellarius juxta mandata dicti domini Regis, die Jovis, videlicet Decimo ſexto die dicti menſis Octobris, circa horam undecimam ante Nonam, in præſentia Willielmi Kellet clerici unius clericorum ejuſdem Cancellariæ, prædictæ, et Willielmi Nanſon, et aliorum plurimorum apud vetus Templum London, in quadam magna alta Camera ibidem juxta gardinum, Sigillum prædictum in quadam baga de albo corio incluſum, et Signeto ipſius domini Cancellarii, figuram Aquilæ continente, ſigillata, Roberto Blackwall, clerico uni clericorum Cancellariæ prædictæ, dicto domino Regi deferendum deliberavit. Quod quidem Sigillum, ut præmittitur, ſignatum tunc ibidem in præſentia antedicta, idem Robertus Blackwall ab ipſo Cancellario recepit, et illud in baga prædicta ſic ſignata, in villa de Granſton in comitatu Pembrociæ decimo

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and among the reſt, Sir Thomas St. Leger, his brother in-law, who had married his own ſiſter

1483 Anne, widow of the famous duke of Exeter, in the reign of his brother Edward.

In

cimo nono die ejus menſis Octobris circa horam duodecimam ejus diei, et in quadam camera vocata La Kynges Chamber, infra hoſpitium de Le Angel, in præſentia Venerabilium patrum J. Wygornienſis, W. Dunelmenſis, Th. Menevenſis, et R. Aſſavenſis, epiſcoporum, et Henrici Northumbriæ, et W. Hunt, comitum, necnon Th. Stanley, de Stanley, militis; et Thomæ Barowe, clerici Cuſtodis Rotulorum Cancellariæ prædictæ, et aliorum, in manus proprias Regis deliberavit; illudque Sigillum, in baga prædicta, ſic ſignata, idem dominus Rex ab ipſo Roberto Blackwall tunc et ibidem recepit; et de baga prædicta extrahi et aperiri fecit; et iterum dictum Sigillum in baga prædicta ſub Signeto ſigillata, reponi et includi fecit. Qui quidem dominus Rex Sigillum prædictum á prædicto decimo nono die menſis Octobris, uſque viceſimum ſextum diem Novembris tunc proximo ſequentem, ſub ejus cuſtodia ſervavit; et cum eo Brevia, Commiſſiones, et *alia* quæ per ipſum Sigillum expedire debuerant, ſigillari fecit. Quo xxvi Novembris præfatus dominus Rex Sigillum illud in baga prædicta incluſum, et ſuo Signeto ſignata, ſive ſigillata, præfato Cancellario apud Weſtmonaſterium in Camera Stellata infra Palatium ipſius domini Regis Weſtm. in præſentia Venerabilium patrum Thomæ Eborum archiepiſcopi, R. Bathon. et Wellen. W. Dunelm. R. Aſſaven. et Th. Meneven. epiſcoporum, Johannis Gunthorp, Cuſtodis Privati Sigilli ipſius domini Regis, et Thomæ Barowe

In order to diſpatch theſe executions with the greater eaſe, and to avoid all the tedious formalities of law, he gave a commiſſion to Sir Ralph Aſhton to exerciſe the office of vice conſtable of England: this commiſſion is dated the 24th, of October, at Coventry, with full power to condemn, and immediately to execute all perſons whomſoever, guilty, or *ſuſpected to be guilty*, of high treaſon, without benefit of appeal, or form of proceſs. CHAP. IV. 1483

Aſhton who ſeems to have been of a temper congenial with that of his maſter, executed his commiſſion

rowe Cuſtodis Rotulorum Cancellariæ ipſus domini Regis, necnon Johannis ducis Norfolciæ, Willielmi Arundell, Henrici Northumbriæ, Magni Camerarii Angliæ, Franciſci vice comitis Lovell, Camerarii Hoſpitii præfati domini Regis, Thomæ Stanley, militis Conſtabularii Angliæ, Ricardi Ratcliffe militis pro corpore ipſius domini Regis, et Willielmi Cateſby, armigeri pro corpore ipſius domini Regis, et aliorum plurimorum de Conſilio ejuſdem domini Regis, deliberavit, eique cuſtodiam prædicti Sigilli commiſit. Qui quidem Cancellarius Sigillum prædictum ab eodem domino Rege in baga prædicta ſic incluſum recepit, idque uſque hoſpitium ſuum in parochia Sancti Andreæ in Holborn, London, ſecum aſportari fecit: deindeque Sigillum prædictum ſub cuſtodia ejuſdem epiſcopi Lincoln. auctoritate Cancellarii remanſit.

CHAP. IV. commiſſion to the intire ſatisfaction of the blood-thirſty tyrant; for he forthwith made a
1483 progreſs into the Weſtern counties, which he filled with blood and lamentation.

Meanwhile the earl of Richmond ſuppoſing, and hoping, that his affairs in England were ſtill in a proſperous ſtate, embarked at St. Maloes, on the 12th, of October, with five thouſand men, on board forty veſſels; an armament with which he had been furniſhed by the duke of Brittany: but this fleet were no ſooner out at ſea, than they were encountered by a very boiſterous and heavy ſtorm, which drove part of his ſhips on the coaſt of France, and obliged the reſt to put back into the ports, from whence they had ſailed.

The ſhip which carried the earl himſelf, having weathered the ſtorm, arrived off Pool in Dorſetſhire; where, ſeeing the coaſt covered with troops, he declined landing; but ſent ſome men on ſhore in the long boat, to inquire whether they were friends, or foes: The commander, in order to decoy the earl, told them, he belonged to the duke of Buckingham, who had

had ſent him thither to wait the arrival of the earl of Richmond. CHAP. IV. 1483

Specious as this anſwer was, and joyful as it would have been, had it been true, Henry thought their appearance was rather hoſtile; he looked upon them as the militia of the county, which they really were, collected by Richard's order, to watch for the coming of his adverſary.

The earl therefore being unwilling to land without thoſe forces, which had embarked with him, he hovered about for a ſhort time on the coaſt, in hopes of being joined by his fleet; but none appearing in view, he ſailed back again to Normandy; where he preſently received the melancholy news of Buckingham's fatal cataſtrophe.

On this, he returned once more to the court of Brittany, where he now met with the marquis of Dorſet, and ſome other refugees, who confirmed indeed the ſad tidings; but at the ſame time comforted him in a great meaſure for his late diſappointment, by aſſuring him, that Richard was utterly deteſted and held in the utmoſt

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moſt abhorrence by all his ſubjects, who ſerved him only through fear; and would not fail to take up arms againſt him on the very firſt opportunity. His crimes had really been ſo manifold, that the ſentiments of every one, without any political views, were ſufficient to render his government deteſtable; and every man of probity wiſhed to prevent the ſceptre from being any longer polluted by that bloody hand, which held it.

Henry conſidered this circumſtance as a happy omen of his future ſucceſs; for all were full of omens and prognoſtics in thoſe days: and the duke of Brittany engaging ſtill to continue his aſſiſtance, he determined to make another attempt with all convenient diſpatch.

Meanwhile he bound himſelf by a moſt ſolemn oath, before thoſe Engliſh nobles, who were then in Brittany, and all aſſembled on the 25th, day of December, in the cathedral of Rhénes, that he would eſpouſe the princeſs Elizabeth, or in caſe of her death, her younger ſiſter Cecilia: Which ſolemnity being performed, all thoſe of the Engliſh nation, who were preſent, did homage, and ſwore fealty to him.

This

This being the laſt tranſaction of this ever memorable year 1483, it may be agreeable to preſent the curious reader with the following liſt of events, as they occurred, and are mentioned in the § *Acta Regia*. CHAP. IV. 1483

All

§ Edward IV. dies —— —— April 9
Edward V. enters London — —— May 4
grants a patent to the duke of Buckingham — May 25
Richard accepts of the Protectorſhip — — May 25
appoints the day of Edward's coronation to be June 22
but is himſelf proclamed king on that very day June 22
gives the Great Seal to the biſhop of Lincoln June 27
creates lord Howard hereditary Marſhal — June 28
makes him duke of Norfolk — —— June 30
himſelf and queen are crowned —— — July 6
appoints Bernard de la Forſſa embaſſador to Spain July 12
grants a commiſſion to Hutton —— — July 13
ſends embaſſadors to the congreſs in France July 16
renews de la Forſſa's commiſſion — — Aug. 20
makes the Spaniſh embaſſador Saſiola a knight Sep. 8
ſends to the B. of Lincoln for the Great Seal Oct. 10
orders a proclama. againſt the duke of Dorſet Oct. 23
grants a commiſſion to Sir Ralph Aſhton — Oct. 24
returns the Great Seal again to bp. of Lincoln Nov. 26
writes a letter of thanks to Spain — Dec. 12
grants a pardon to the archbp. of Canterbury Dec. 13
creates the duke of Buckingham High Conſta. Dec. 16

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All oppoſition being thus removed by the extinction of Buckingham's rebellion, and the diſaſter of Richmond's expedition, the king now ſummoned a parliament, which met in the month of January; and as none of the members durſt venture to diſpute his pleaſure, they very ſubmiſſively complied with whatever the king commanded: and accordingly an act was made, declaring the illegitimacy of Edward's children, and ratifying the right of Richard to the throne of theſe realms.

This act may perhaps appear to have been needleſs and unneceſſary; for ſince both the ſons were now moſt probably dead, it could not be a matter of any great moment, whether they were declared baſtards, or not; and ſince Richard was in poſſeſſion of the crown, there was no great occaſion to mention their birth, or his right; but we ought to conſider, that ſince he had already taken care to diſpoſe of his nephews, by removing them out of the way, he thought, declaring them baſtards, would in ſome meaſure juſtify their removal; and the confirmation

confirmation of parliament would give a greater ſanction to his § uſurpation. CHAP. IV.

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This parliament likewiſe paſſed a bill of attainder againſt Henry, earl of Richmond, and all his partizans and adherents; including all thoſe, who had any ſhare in the duke of Buckingham's confederacy; except the counteſs of Richmond, againſt whom no information had been lodged.

All this however muſt have been mere matter of form; for we have ſeen parliaments do the very ſelf ſame thing, with regard to the two preceeding

§ But this act of *Baſtardizing* is introduced now with a very ill grace; becauſe it ought to have been paſſed, if paſſed at all, in Edward's life time: for Richard, and the reſt of his clan, knowing the whole affair of the lady Butler, they ought to have told Edward, that his children by the lady Gray were Baſtards; and that both himſelf and Clarence were Baſtards; and that therefore they intended to have a Bill brought into parliament, declaring the ſame to be true: Had Richard, and the reſt, I ſay, acted thus honeſtly, things would have appeared in quite a different light: but to keep all this ſmothered in their own minds; to ſtay till both his brothers were dead, and both his nephews were murdered; and then to Baſtardize their memories, was mean, treacherous and villainous.

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preceeding kings, who were either traitors, or monarchs, as they happened to be in, or out of poſſeſſion.

As for the counteſs of Richmond, her huſband was enjoined to watch her conduct with the ſtricteſt attention; and in order to engage that nobleman the more firmly in his intereſt, he appointed him lord High Conſtable of England; the very poſt, which Buckingham had enjoyed; with authority over Aſhton, who had already performed the bloody ſervice, for which he had been commiſſioned.

By theſe executions Richard imagined, he had intirely quenched all ſpirit of rebellion: but he found by Thomas Hutton, whom he had ſent ambaſſador to the court of Brittany, that the deſign of an invaſion was not even yet laid aſide: that the duke had engaged to continue his aſſiſtance to the earl of Richmond, who with others of the Engliſh refugees, had frequent conſultations, to concert the means of executing their project by the firſt favorable opportunity.

Richard

Richard was in hopes that by this time he had ſo far humbled his opponents, that none would venture to join the rebels, ſhould they endeavour to make another deſcent: however, in order to render himſelf more ſecure, he reſolved to form ſome ſtrict alliances with foreign powers: he had already confirmed the treaties with Spain and Portugal; and he now diſpatched ambaſſadors to the arch duke, governor of the Low countries; becauſe his ſon Philip, by his mother's ſide, was, like the princes of Caſtile and Portugal, deſcended from the houſe of Lancaſter. CHAP. IV. 1484

The pretence for this embaſſy was to renew the commercial truce between Flanders and England: but the ambaſſadors were ordered to inquire, whether that court had any deſigns on the crown of England; or had entered into any engagements with the pretender to it. At the ſame time, Richard ſent envoys to the court of France, to confirm a prolongation of the truce with that kingdom.

Though he had reaſon to think, that Francis II, duke of Brittany, had too ſtrictly eſpouſed the

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the cauſe of Richmond, to be drawn off from that connexion, yet ſtill he reſolved to uſe his

1484 utmoſt endeavours to detach him if poſſible, from the intereſt of that nobleman; and an accident furniſhed him with a favorable opportunity of at leaſt making the trial.

The duke, being old and infirm, was intirely guided by his treaſurer, Peter Landais, the ſon of a taylor; who behaved himſelf with ſo much pride and arrogance, that he had incurred the hatred of all the courtiers; who in the courſe of this very year engaged in a combination againſt him; and even attempted to arreſt his perſon in the duke's palace; but their ſcheme not proving ſucceſsful, they were declared rebels, and traitors, by the intereſt and intrigues of the enraged favorite.

Landais, conſcious of that weight of odium he had ſo juſtly merited, and under which he laboured at home, was reſolved to ſtrengthen himſelf by foreign connexions: and with this view he ſent ambaſſadors to England: their arrival was ſo agreeable to Richard, that he readily embraced their propoſals; and a truce was concluded between England and Brittany: and

by

by another private treaty, the king agreed to assist the duke with a thousand archers, for the support of his minister, who in all probability engaged on his part to deliver up the earl of Richmond into the hands of Richard: at least he undertook, that the earl should receive no farther assistance, either of men, or money, from the duke his master. CHAP. IV. 1484

About this time, Richard began to turn his thoughts towards Scotland; for as James, now the Fourth, of that country, was a descendent of the house of Somerset, the king imagined, that he must naturally be inclined to favour the cause of Richmond: to obviate which, he concluded a truce with Scotland for the space of one year; and agreed to a contract of marriage between the duke of Rothsay, eldest son to the Scottish monarch, and his own niece Anne, daughter of John de la Pool, duke of Suffolk, who was son of Anne, sister to king Richard: And his own son Edward prince of Wales dying in the month of April this year, at Ten years of age, Richard declared that young lady's brother, the earl of Lincoln, presumptive heir to the crown; and proposed to have this declaration confirmed by parliament.

To

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1484 To render himſelf ſtill more ſecure, he ſent an embaſſy of obedience to the pope, at that time Innocent VIII, who on the death of Sixtus IV, had been lately advanced to the pontifical chair: And in a ſhort time, after he had taken all theſe prudent meaſures, Charles VIII, king of France, demanded a ſafe conduct for the ambaſſadors he propoſed ſending to the court of London.

Landais, miniſter to the duke of Brittany, having now no occaſion for the archers, which had been promiſed in the late treaty, Richard found that he had very little more to expect from his friendſhip; unleſs he could gratify him with ſome other advantages: on pretence therefore of prolonging the truce, he entered into a new agreement with that favorite; and it is ſaid, he offered very conſiderable rewards for the perſon of Henry; during whoſe life, he could never think himſelf ſecure: no wonder therefore that he tried every means, and ſtretched every nerve to get him into his power.

The duke was by this time ſo much oppreſſed with years, and infirmities, that he was altogether incapable of managing the reins of government;

government; ſo that in effect, Landais acted as ſovereign of Brittany; and to him did the king of England reſolve to apply; and Richard is ſaid to have granted Letters patent, for re-inſtating Francis II, duke of Brittany, in the earldom of Richmond, and all its dependences: As for Landais, his expected reward is not known: Richard, it ſeems, made large and magnificent promiſes; but Landais inſiſted upon having ſomething of a more ſolid, and ſubſtantial nature. CHAP. IV. 1484

However, before the treaty was compleated, the earl of Richmond was appriſed of the negociation by Morton, biſhop of Ely, who having ſpies in the Engliſh court, was informed that the king held frequent, and long conferences with the biſhop of Lacon, ambaſſador from the duke of Brittany.

Henry ſtartled at this intelligence, was reſolved to withdraw into France; and for that purpoſe, ſecretly procured a paſſport from king Charles: but, as he imagined that Landais had employed emiſſaries to watch his motions, he found himſelf greatly perplexed, about the means of effecting his eſcape.

The

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1484 The duke of Brittany had juſt recovered from a fit of lethargy, with which he had been lately ſeized; and during which, his miniſter had carried on the above negociation with Richard: on this occurrence, the earl of Richmond ſent all his Engliſh friends and attendents to felicitate that prince on the re-eſtabliſhment of his health; naturally ſuppoſing, that they would not ſuſpect him of having any deſign to withdraw, while ſo many hoſtages were at the court of Brittany.

This ſcheme ſucceeded even beyond his expectations: for now, being left alone at Vannes, he found an opportunity of eſcaping in diſguiſe, attended only by five perſons: he inſtantly ſtruck off from the high road, which led to the frontiers of France; and gallopped acroſs the country, through lanes, and ſolitary paths, without ever once ſtopping at any town, till he reached Angiers, the capital of Anjou: and happy was it for him, that he made ſuch expedition: otherwiſe he muſt certainly have been taken: for his departure from Vannes was no ſooner known, than thoſe who were employed to watch him, ſuſpecting which way he was gone,

gone, perſued the right road, and though they ſate out much later, yet they arrived on the frontiers, in leſs than an hour, after he had paſſed the confines of Brittany. CHAP. IV. 1484

This eſcape of the earl of Richmond was preſently known in England; and gave the king a double cauſe of uneaſineſs; for it not only deprived him of that opportunity, which he had been ſo long labouring to accompliſh, the opportunity of getting his rival into his power; but likewiſe expoſed him now to the danger of another invaſion, and hazarding his crown in a battle: for he knew, the earl was of ſuch a reſtleſs diſpoſition, that he would never quietly ſit down with having barely regained his liberty: he began therefore to prepare himſelf for that event, which he knew muſt one day happen; and might happen ſoon.

On the other hand, the duke of Brittany, being recovered, and informed that the earl had eſcaped for fear of being betrayed by Landais, was enraged againſt his favorite; and permitted all the Engliſh in his dominions to go, and join the earl; to whom at the ſame time he ſent his compliments, and proffers of ſupply.

After

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After a ſhort ſtay at Angiers, Henry went to Langeais; where he was hoſpitably entertained at the court of Charles, though it was ſtill involved in cabals and factions: and here he was joined by John de Vere, earl of Oxford, who had unfortunately been the accidental cauſe of loſing the battle of Barnet, in which the great and brave earl of Warwick was ſlain: and in the year following, this nobleman, the earl of Oxford, in 1471, ſubmitted himſelf to king Edward, had his life pardoned, on condition of retiring to the caſtle of Ham in Picardy; where, after Twelve or Thirteen years confinement ‡, having heard, that he was at the court of France, he prevailed upon John Blount, governor of Ham, to eſpouſe the cauſe of Henry; and now they were both of them come in perſon, to pay their reſpects to him, and offer him their ſervices.

The earl of Oxford brought a conſiderable acceſſion of intereſt along with him; and ſeveral

‡ Baker tells us, that his lady, in all that time, had not any thing to depend upon for her livelyhood, but what people of their charities gave her, or what ſhe could get by her needle, or other work.

veral noblemen in England gave him private assurances, that they would support his cause, with all their power, whenever they should find a proper opportunity to declare against Richard: among these was the lord Stanley, who had espoused the earl's mother; and on that account was so much the object of the king's jealousy, that he could not procure leave to retire to his house in the country, until he had left his son, the lord Strange, as a hostage for his peaceable behaviour. CHAP. IV. 1484

Richard exerted himself with so much activity and diligence, in discovering the nature of the plot, which his numerous enemies were forming against him, that he at last came to know the most material circumstance, which was the union of the queen dowager's friends with the adherents of the house of Lancaster, by means of Henry's marriage with the princess Elizabeth.

Alarmed at this intelligence, he determined, if possible, to counteract that project, and defeat a match, which might occasion the subversion of his throne; and he saw no method so effectual, as that of making Elizabeth his own wife.

This

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This ſcheme would have appeared impracticable, and even abſurd, to any perſon, influenced by greater ſcruples of conſcience than Richard: but his fertile genius found out a method of evading ſeveral obſtacles, ſeemingly unſurmountable; for in the firſt place, there was a neceſſity of removing his preſent conſort, whoſe conſtitution as yet declared no ſymptoms of her ſuddenly leaving this world; though ſome authors tell us, that ſhe fell into a decline of health, on account of the loſs of her ſon, the prince of Wales: in the next place, he was to obtain the conſent of the queen dowager, whoſe brother, and whoſe ſons he had murdered: then next he muſt procure a diſpenſation from the pope, for an inceſtuous marriage between an uncle, and a niece; this indeed was the leaſt difficulty: but the greateſt of all was to gain the conſent of the princeſs herſelf:—If theſe four obſtacles can be removed, we may expect he will be able to remove mountains.

But Richard was a Jeſuit, and more than a Jeſuit in principles; he could not only remove mountains, but he could ſwallow them too: when once he had ſet his heart upon the attainment

attainment of any end, he never heſitated a moment about the nature of the means. CHAP. IV.

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He therefore began the execution of this ſtrange project, by ſending ſeveral obliging meſſages to the queen dowager, who was ſtill in ſanctuary; implying that there was nothing of which he was more deſirous, than of living upon good terms with herſelf, and her family, many of whom, it is true, he had murdered: but what then? he now ſincerely wiſhed he might have an opportunity of convincing her what a tender regard he had for her § intereſt.

He acknowledged indeed that ſhe had met with very ſevere, and rigorous treatment from him; but it was more owing to the temper of the times, than his own diſpoſition; and to atone for

§ Does this man ſpeak ironically? or is there any ſuch thing as irony in the world? we muſt either ſuppoſe, that every thing which has hitherto been tranſacted, was never tranſacted at all; or elſe, that Richard was one of the moſt amiable characters at that time exiſting; and that the queen dowager, and her family had received no injuries from his hands, nor by his means.—Whoever can ſuppoſe this, may as well ſuppoſe, that Richard is now living.

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for what was paſt, he engaged to allot a conſiderable penſion for her ſubſiſtance; to confer ſeveral profitable employments on her two remaining brothers; and to provide her daughters all with proper huſbands.

But what's the tendency of all this ſpecious conduct?

Quicquid id eſt, timeo Danaos, et dona ferentes!
Whate'er it be, I dread the Greeks tho' offering gifts!
Æn. II. 49.

As he knew that theſe profeſſions would appear ſuſpicious to the queen, he ordered his emiſſaries to aſcribe them to the dictates of his conſcience, which was filled with remorſe for the injuries he had done her: It is true indeed, that remorſe could not reſtore any of her *deceaſed* friends to life again; but he would endeavour to recompenſe the *living*, for the loſs of the dead.

They aſſured her, that his intention was to advance the princeſs Elizabeth to the throne; the queen conſort herſelf was now in a very declining ſtate; that his own ſon was now dead; and that he would revoke the declaration he had made in favor of the earl of Lincoln.

The

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The other part of the promiſe, concerning the intended proviſion for the queen, and her children, he confirmed by a ſolemn oath, which he took in an aſſembly of the lords ſpiritual, and temporal. 1484

Theſe alluring promiſes made a deep impreſſion on the mind of the queen, who was long ago heartily tired of being confined in a ſanctuary, which was certainly at beſt but very little better than a priſon, and where ſhe was but ill ſupplied with every common article of life: She loved her living brothers with the moſt tender affection: She reflected, that as Richmond's attempt had lately proved ſo unſucceſsful, ſhe and her daughters now had nothing to expect, but utter ruin and deſtruction, ſhould ſhe dare to provoke the king, by rejecting his offer.

Influenced by theſe conſiderations, ſhe not only appeared at court with her five daughters, where they were all of them moſt graciouſly received; but alſo ſent a letter to her eldeſt ſon, the marquis of Dorſet by Sir John Gray, deſiring him to abandon the earl of Richmond, (to

to whom ſhe had but ſo lately pledged her word!) and that he would return to England, as ſoon as poſſible, where he might depend upon the favor, and generoſity of Richard; for all things now were changed; and he was become the friend of princes, and the beſt of men!

The marquis, who was really a weak man, but of boundleſs ambition, was ſo charmed with the tempting proſpect, that he withdrew privately from France; but was overtaken and brought back by the adherents of Henry, who perſuaded him to ſtay, and ſhare his fortune.

Richard having thus accompliſhed one difficult part of his project; reſolved next to get rid of his wife; or at leaſt wiſhed to do it; for ſhe was rather an inconvenient perſon in this drama: but ſhe was not likely to continue ſo long; for it ſeems ſhe had lately been in a declining ſtate: and therefore moſt probably would very ſoon make her exit; and then he could be at liberty to marry his niece: whether there was any method taken for this purpoſe, or whether none; (for ſome affirm, and ſome deny it;) would be impoſſible, at this diſtance of time, to aſſert with any confidence, or truth: but the

uſual

uſual tenor of his conduct made it reaſonable
ſuſpect, that there was ſomething irregular
the manner of her death; for certain it is, th
ſhe did not long ſurvive her ſon, the prince
Wales †.

The king affected to be overwhelmed wi
ſorrow for the death of his conſort; but befo
ſhe was cold in her tomb, he made propoſ
of marriage to his niece!

She

† Somehow, or other, there appears to have been an unaccountable diſpoſition in people at that time of day, w
ſeem to have died, or ſlunk out of the way, juſt when Ri
ard would have them: any body would have thought, t
they had determined not in the leaſt to have obſtructed
will; and that whenever he wanted them to be gone, he
only to ſay, Go; and they vaniſhed. The friends of Rich
(for even Richard has met with ſome friends among our
writers, and perhaps not without reaſon; for though
devil be black, we need not paint him blacker than he
the friends of Richard, I ſay, allege, that his conſort A
died of grief for the loſs of her ſon: Let that be as it may,
can only be ſaid, that if ſo, ſhe died very conveniently, on
16th of March; and thus in ſome meaſure her weakneſs
retaliated upon her, who could marry the ruffian, who
murdered her firſt huſband, as we have ſeen, immediately
ter the battle of Tewkeſbury.

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She received his addreſſes with aſtoniſhment and horror; and begged he would never more ſpeak to her on ‡ that ſubject. But he did not doubt of being able to overcome her reluctance; though he poſtponed his deſign, till a more favorable opportunity ſhould offer; as he did not think it would be prudent to force her inclinations; and no doubt ſhe muſt in time comply.

But before that time arrived, Richard had rendered

‡ The writers on this tranſaction remind us of the publiſhers of the common prints, who very often aſſert as a truth in one page, what they contradict as a falſity in another; thus we have hitherto ſeen every thing proceed with great regularity: But now comes Mr Buck, in Walpole's *Doubts*, p. 74, a ſtrenuous aſſertor of good king Richard's cauſe, and aſſures us, "that he had ſeen, in the earl of Arundel's library, a letter written by Elizabeth to the Duke of Norfolk, in paſſionate ſtrains of Love for her uncle; in which ſhe expreſſes her doubts, that the month of April would never arrive:"—that month, which the phyſicians had declared, that the queen conſort could not outlive: and therefore the princeſs Elizabeth (like a forward, fond minx as ſhe was,) could not patiently wait for the death of the queen; but wiſhes that April were come, that ſhe might at laſt have a huſband!—what indecency of character! what impropriety of behaviour!—then, let who will, give credit to it.

rendered himſelf ſo odious, that many perſons of diſtinction quitted the kingdom, and went to offer their ſervices to the earl of Richmond, as the only perſon, whom they could properly have recourſe to, in order to deliver themſelves and the nation from the power of the tyrant. CHAP. IV. 1484

In the meanwhile, being informed, that the governor of Ham, as we juſt now mentioned, had revolted, he ordered the commander of Calais, (Vauclair,) to retake that fortreſs: and this order was executed with ſo much celerity, that the earl of Oxford, who was marching to its relief, could not arrive in the neighbourhood, till the place had ſurrendered: the garriſon however joined the earl of Richmond; and that was of more worth to him, than all the walls in Picardy.

The king of England had fitted out a large ſquadron of ſhips, to oppoſe the invaſion of Henry, whom then he expected to land; but the truce with Brittany having been prolonged for Seven years; and France diſcovering very little inclination to aſſiſt her enemy, he thought it needleſs to incur the expence of maintaining a fleet; 1485

CHAP. IV. a fleet; and had ordered it to be laid up, in the beginning of the ſummer.

1485 The earl of Richmond, reſolving to embrace this opportunity, ſolicited the French miniſtry for ſuccours, with ſo much importunity, that they at laſt agreed to comply with his requeſt; not that they believed his enterprize would ſucceed; but they imagined it was for the intereſt of France to embroil the diſſenſions in England.

They therefore undertook to furniſh him with two thouſand men, and ſome ſhips for conveying them to England; and even ſupplied him with a large ſum of money; though they demanded a certain number of hoſtages, as a ſecurity for the repayment of their expences: the earl, who had ſome reaſon to ſuſpect the fidelity of the marquis of Dorſet, on account of his late attempt, was glad on this occaſion to leave him at Paris; and he himſelf ſet out for Roüen; which was the place appointed for the general rendezvous of all his forces.

There he received the diſagreeable news of the queen conſort's death; and heard, that Richard intended to eſpouſe the princeſs Elizabeth himſelf, and give her ſiſter Cecilia to one of

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of his favorites. On this he inſtantly aſſembled a council of his friends, to determine what meaſures ought to be perſued in this extraordinary juncture; and they adviſed him to marry immediately a beautiful young lady, ſiſter to Sir Walter Herbert, a knight of great honour, power, and intereſt in Wales, and whoſe aſſiſtance would be of ſingular ſervice to the ſupport of his cauſe in attaining the crown of England.

Henry approved of the advice, and diſpatched a meſſenger to Sir Walter with this propoſal; but the roads were ſo ſtrictly guarded in Wales, that he could not execute his commiſſion.

This was a lucky diſappointment for Richmond; for if this match had taken effect, it would in all probability have loſt him the intereſt of all thoſe Yorkiſts, who had eſpouſed his cauſe, for no other reaſon, than the proſpect they entertained of his happily uniting the two houſes of York and Lancaſter by his marriage with the princeſs Elizabeth, whom the queen dowager

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dowager was now on the point of beſtowing on ‡ Richard.

1485

Henry, in a few days after his arrival at Roüen, received letters from his adherents in England, deſiring him to land in Wales; where he would be ſure to find people of all ranks, ready to declare in his favor; together with a large ſum of money, (which was one of the darling delights of his ſoul,) that had been privately collected for his ſervice.

He was likewiſe informed, that the whole kingdom, (except a few refugees from ſanctuary,) were diſſatisfied with the character, and conduct of Richard; who was every day becoming more odious; (and more amiable;) and who might be dethroned, with little, or no difficulty; as he had not made any, not even the leaſt preparations to oppoſe an invaſion: His mind

‡ What a wonderful contradiction! what a ſtrange contrariety of facts does there appear throughout all the tranſactions of this whole period! Quarrels, Battles, Friendſhips; Animoſities, Murders, Alliances; Diſſentions, Aſſaſſinations, and Reconciliations! with ſuch unlooked for, unaccountable, and croſs-cut marriages, as are not to be found, or parallelled in the hiſtory of any other nation, or people throughout the whole world.

mind was but too buſily engaged in his new-projected marriage. CHAP. IV.

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He was not however ſo much engaged, but that he got intelligence of Richmond's preparations; and addreſſed the people of England in a letter, dated at Weſtminſter, June 23d, 1485, in which he artfully perſuaded them "to oppoſe Henry Tudor, and his attainted traitors, whom he pronounces to be murderers, adulterers, extortioners, who obey his antient enemy, the French king; and under Henry, their baſtard leader, begotten in double adultery, and now intending to enter the kingdom, and by conqueſt to deſpoil his ſubjects of life, liberty, and goods: for Henry Tudor, and his wicked followers will commit the moſt horrid murders, *(far more horrid than my own,)* ſlaughters, and robberies, that ever were heard of in a Chriſtian country: Every true Engliſhman therefore is hereby commanded, to furniſh himſelf with arms to oppoſe the rebels, in defence of his wife, children, and poſſeſſions; and the king himſelf will courageouſly expoſe his moſt royal perſon to every labor, and hazard, to ſubdue their enemies, and comfort his faithful ſubjects: He

CHAP. IV. He therefore calls forth every man to defend his king in ‡ battle."

1485 The earl now haſtened his departure, and marching directly to Harfleur, he there embarked all his forces; and ſailing from thence on Sunday the laſt day of July, arrived with his troops on Saturday the 6th, day of Auguſt, at Milford haven in Wales; and landed at a place called Dalle.

Next day he proceeded to Haverford-Weſt; where he was received amidſt the ſhouts and acclamations of the people: from hence he diſpatched an expreſs to his mother, giving her tidings of his arrival: then he ſent ſome meſſengers to his friends, in the different parts of the country; deſiring them to join him on his march: and ſoon after ſet out for Shrewſbury, where he intended to croſs the § Severne.

Richard

‡ Sir John Fenn: that ingenious antiquary, ſays Hutton, p. 29, "who calls back departed ages, and brings the diſtance of 300 years, as perfectly to view as yeſterday:" ——a compliment, which might be applied to himſelf.

§ Since he undoubtedly deſigned for London, we may well be ſurpriſed, ſays Hutton, page 34, to find him taking the indirect

Richard, being by this time appriſed of his landing, commanded Sir Walter Herbert, (Richmond's intended brother-in-law) to raiſe the militia of Wales, and check the earl's progreſs, till he himſelf ſhould be able to march againſt him: but Herbert having been already gained

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indirect road: but his ſagacious head furniſhed many reaſons for taking this courſe; he knew his powers were but weak, and therefore, as he was a Welchman both by name, and extraction, (for he pretended to draw his deſcent from the antient Britiſh kings,) and as he likewiſe had many relations and connections, whoſe greateſt intereſt lay there, he very reaſonably ſuppoſed, that the farther he paſſed through that country, the more ſtrength he ſhould gain: Beſides; he could the more eaſily attempt a paſſage over the Severne at Shrewſbury, than either at Briſtol, Chepſtow, Gloceſter, Worceſter, Bewdley, or Bridgenorth, where the waters were ſo much broader: he recollected the fate of his unfortunate friend Buckingham: And as the Stanleys were Northern gentlemen, he thought that the farther he advanced North, the more readily he ſhould gain their aſſiſtance: For all theſe reaſons, he held his courſe on towards Shrewſbury; and the ſcheme anſwered his purpoſe; for he was joined in his march by many powerful chiefs; as Richard ap Griffith, Arnold Butler, John Morgan, Sir Walter Herbert, Rice ap Thomas, and ſeveral more; each with a little army.

CHAP. IV. gained over by Henry's friends, allowed him to paſs without § moleſtation.

1485 Meanwhile the lord Stanley (who had married Richmond's mother,) and his brother Sir William, levied a body of eight thouſand men, on pretence of aſſiſting Richard; and they proceeded to Litchfield, as if they intended to oppoſe, not to join ‡ the invader.

Sir

§ Here we might aſk then, why did not Henry now go, and marry Sir Walter's ſiſter, as had been propoſed? there could be no impediments now in the way: the roads were not now ſo ſtrictly guarded; at leaſt, if they were ever ſo ſtrict, all obſtructions might have been eaſily removed by Sir Walter: And why would his ſiſter let him ſo eaſily paſs? could not ſhe have prevented him?—in ſhort, there might be many more queſtions aſked; but we have no time to aſk them now; for we are haſtening apace to the laſt great ſcene of Richard's life, which cloſes with his death.

‡ Then, where was Richard's ſagacity, not to ſuſpect ſuch a conduct? and why would he ſuffer ſuch perſons to raiſe ſuch forces, when he might eaſily have ſuppoſed, that they would have betrayed him, they being ſo nearly connected with his antagoniſt?—Perhaps it may be ſaid, that Richard had Stanley's ſon, the lord Strange, in his hands, as a hoſtage: This reaſon, indeed, muſt be allowed to have its due weight: but ſtill this is no reaſon, why Richard ſhould have entruſted them with ſuch forces; and by that means have put himſelf ſo much in their power.

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Sir William had a private interview with Henry; whom he aſſured, that both his brother and himſelf would join him, as ſoon as he could take ſuch a ſtep, with regard to the ſafety of his ſon, the lord Strange, who was left as a hoſtage in the hands of the tyrant. 1485

Now Richard's affairs began to take a ſerious turn; he perceived, that his friends were forſaking him; that they promiſed much, and performed but little; his forbodings were very unfavorable; anger and vengeance were united in his countenance; and his good humour forſook, him never more to return.

He had appointed the rendezvous of his forces at Nottingham; where they had now aſſembled, to the number of Twelve ‡ thouſand men.

Underſtanding

‡ Richard's march from Nottingham to Leiceſter, is ſo minutely and circumſtantially related by Hutton, p. 46. that it deſerves to be tranſcribed: "On the 16th of Auguſt he marſhalled his troops in Nottingham market place; and there he found, they amounted to upwards of Twelve thouſand men: from Nottingham he marched in exact order to Leiceſter, where he probably arrived the next day, though twenty five miles diſtant; choſing rather to reſt his men, after a fatiguing march,

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Underſtanding that the earl deſigned to advance to London, he determined to give him battle on his march; and with that view took his poſt between Litchfield, and Coventry.

In

march, than fight them immediately after an eaſy one: they conſiſted chiefly of foot, which he ſeparated into two diviſions: the firſt marched five in a rank; then followed the baggage: then himſelf gorgeouſly dreſt, upon a large *white courſer*; (Saddle *White Surrey* for the field to-morrow.—Rich. III. Act. v. ſc. 3.) richly capariſoned, attended by his body guards: Afterwards followed the ſecond diviſion, five abreaſt, as at firſt: The horſe being alſo divided, formed the wings, and kept near the center.

This oſtentatious parade was deſigned to ſhew his power to the greateſt advantage, to deceive the eye, and intimidate the enemy: Richard's wire-drawn army would by this means occupy the road for at leaſt three miles; they would be more than an hour in leaving Nottingham; and as long in entering Leiceſter; ſo that, to a common obſerver, his numbers muſt have appeared prodigious: however, it ſeems, that his countenance all the way beſpoke a dejected mind; and his words declared vengeance: He entered Leiceſter with all the pomp that he could poſſibly diſplay, a little after ſun ſet. In the North gate ſtreet, there yet ſtands a large, handſome, half-timber houſe, with one ſtory projecting over the other, formerly an inn, and called *the Blue Boar*; adjoining to which is a narrow ſtreet, or lane, that derives its name from this *Sign*, though now ſtrangely degenerated into *Blubber-lane*, inſtead

In the mean time, Henry proceeded to Litchfield; from whence the lord Stanley withdrew at his approach, and encamped at Aſherton; and CHAP. IV. 1485

inſtead of *Blue-Boar lane*. In one of the apartments of this inn Richard reſted that night: the room ſeems to have been once elegant, though now diſuſed: he brought his own bedſtead of wood, large, and in ſome places gilt: it continued in that houſe near 200 years after he had lain there; and its remains are now in the poſſeſſion of alderman Drake, of that place: it had a wooden bottom; and under that a falſe one, of the ſame materials; like a floor, and its under ceiling; between theſe two bottoms was encloſed a quantity of gold coin, worth about three hundred pounds of our preſent money, but then worth many times that ſum: thus he may be ſaid, perſonally to have watched his treaſure, and ſlept on his military cheſt: Thoreſbey tells us, that this inn was kept in the reign of queen Elizabeth, by one Clarke, whoſe wife going haſtily one day to make the bed, a piece of gold dropped out, which led to a diſcovery of the reſt; ſome of the pieces were of the king's own coin: Clarke ſuddenly grew rich with the ſpoils of Richard's bedſtead; became mayor of the town; and at his death left a wealthy widow, whoſe ſervant maid in 1613, conſpiring with her ſweet heart, robbed, and murdered her miſtreſs; for which they were both executed: ſo that Richard's property proved as unfortunate, as himſelf. This room ſeems to have been the laſt, in which he ever ſlept; for though we have five days yet to the battle, yet it is certain he ſlept only like a ſoldier, on matting, during that time; becauſe he left his bed at Leiceſter, in hopes of returning victorious.

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and the earl having concerted his meaſures with the two brothers, directed his route to Leiceſter; where he reſolved to hazard an engagement.

Here we are told by ſome hiſtorians, that in his march to Tamworth, he fell behind his army, and in a fit of muſing, or revery, loſt his way; ſo that he was forced to lie all night at a village, without daring to aſk the road, for fear of being diſcovered, and ſeized by his enemies: This ſeems to have been a mighty ſtrange adventure, that none of his officers could have taken better care of their general, than to let him ſtraggle all alone from his army, and not be able to know a ſingle circumſtance relating to him, till the next day morning†.

When

† That he was abſent from his army all night, is acknowledged by every one; but his abſence was certainly not owing to a fit of revery: Hutton, p. 53, has given us a far more probable account of this adventure; for he tells us, that Henry did not depart from Litchfield, at the ſame time that his army did, which was not till near evening: that his forces were arrived at Tamworth, long before he ſet off: what detained him, we are not told; but that it was ſomething important, we may eaſily conceive; which being ſettled, he and his twenty light horſe, entering Wittington common, which

is

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When he found that his friends had been greatly alarmed at his abſence he told them, not that he had miſſed his way, but that he had only gone to confer with ſome particular noblemen, who did not chooſe, at preſent, to declare in his favour.

That ſame day, he had a private interview with lord Stanley at Atherſtone ‡: and on the morrow, underſtanding that Richard had marched from Leiceſter to attack him, he determined to ſave him one half of the way.

On

is only two miles from Litchfield, the road divides into ſeveral branches; here a perſon, better verſed in the country than Henry, and leſs muſing, might eaſily miſtake the way, as he did; and this muſt have been the erring ſpot; becauſe there is hardly another, that could admit of ſuch an event: the village therefore at which he ſlept, if he ſlept at all, muſt have been Wittington, about a mile diſtant from his army, and half a one to the left of the road, he ought to have taken: In the morning he found means to join his army at Tamworth.

‡ Richmond's early arrival at Atherſtone, ſays Hutton, p. 57. ſeems to have been a pre-concerted plan, between him and the Stanleys; and they all three met at night, Auguſt the 20th, ſecretly in a little cloſe.

Since

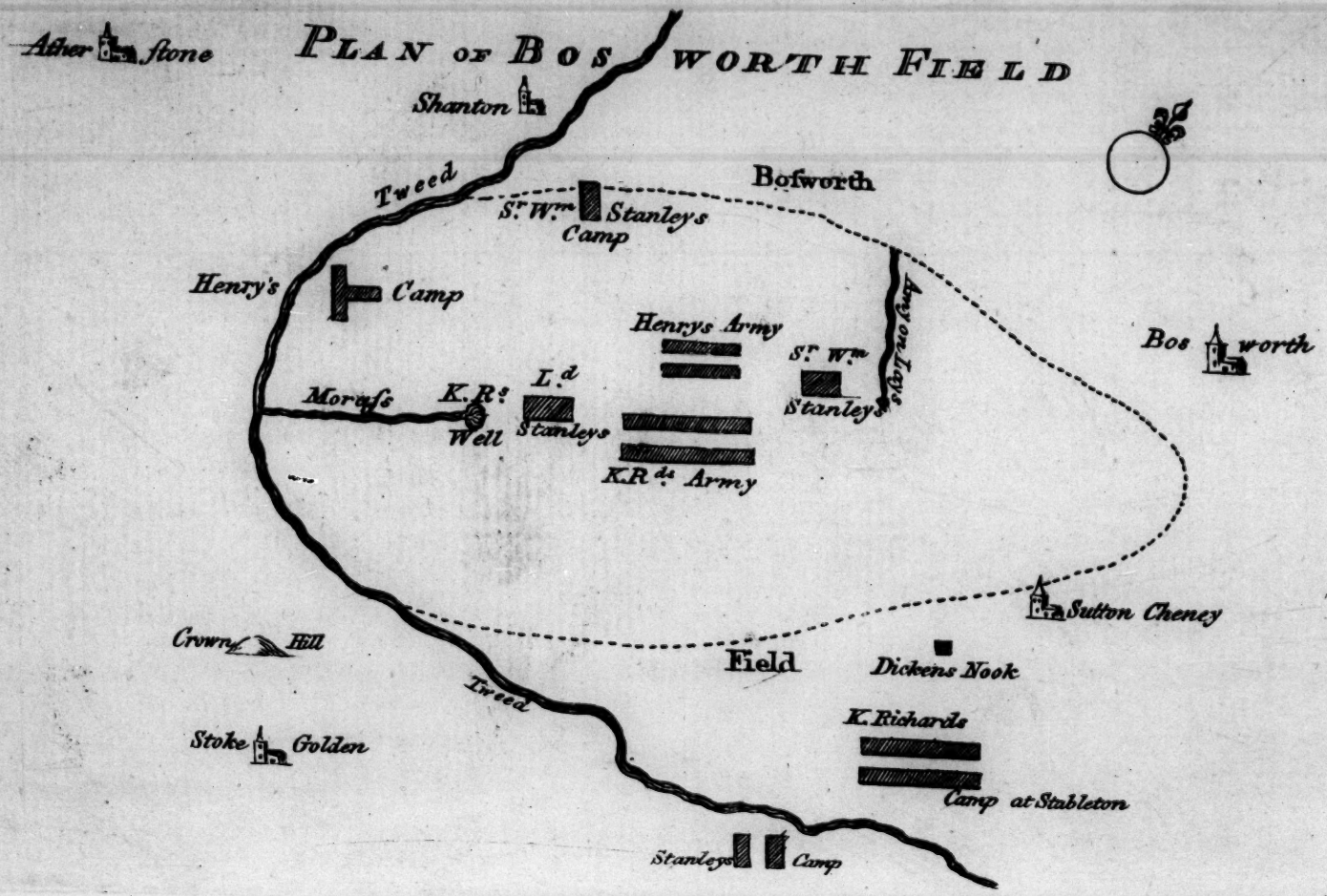
CHAP. IV. 1485

On Monday the 22nd day of Auguſt the two armies approached each other at Boſworth §. Being

Since we have had ſo particular an account of the manner, in which Richard was lodged at Leiceſter, it would be unpardonable were we to omit the deſcription, given by the ſame agreeable author, p. 61, of the place, in which Henry was lodged at Atherſtone, in the night of the 2[illegible]th of Auguſt; His head quarters were at the Three Tuns; which is the ſame houſe, and the ſame ſign to this day: it was undoubtedly then the beſt inn in the town; and it will give the curious obſerver an idea of a Royal inn in the time of Richard III, and the gradual improvement to the reign of George III: when he ſurveys this inn, he will perhaps think with me, that Henry ſlept, for one night at leaſt, in the Black Hole.

§ We are now entering, ſays Hutton, p. 75, upon one of the moſt important days in the Britiſh annals. "On *Monday*, the 22nd of Auguſt, 1485, which anſwers to our preſent September the 2nd, a day which terminated the conteſt between the two Roſes."—What authority this gentleman had for fixing upon *Monday*, as the day of the week on which the 22nd of Auguſt fell that year, I know not; but lord Verulam, in his Life of Henry VII, p. 7, in ſpeaking of the king's entering London, after the battle of Boſworth, ſays, "He *entered* the city upon *a Saturday*, as he had alſo obtained the *victory* upon *a Saturday*:"—to which his lordſhip might have added, as Hutton himſelf likewiſe obſerves, p. 34, that Henry landed at Milford haven on *a Saturday*, Auguſt the 6th:—Now, if this be certain, then his own day of


BRITISH
11 FEB 69
MUSEUM


Ather stone
PLAN OF BOS WORTH FIELD
Shanton
Tweed
Bosworth
St. Wm. Stanleys Camp
Henry's Camp
Henrys Army
St. Wm. Stanleys
Henry on Leys
Bos worth
Morass
K. Rs Well
L.d Stanleys
K. Rds Army
Sutton Cheney
Crown Hill
Field
Dickens Nook
Tweed
K. Richards
Stoke Golden
Camp at Stableton
Stanleys Camp

CHAP. IV. 1485

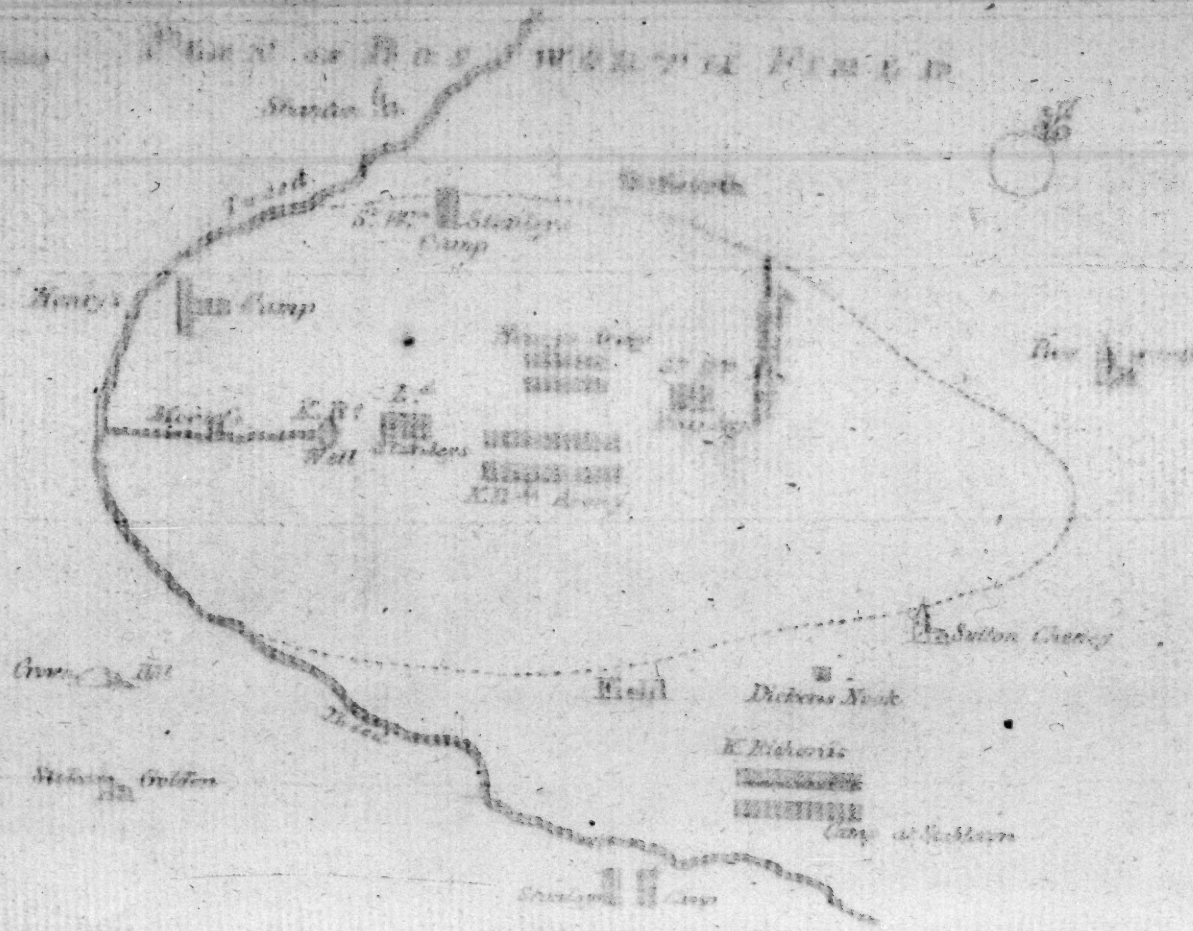
Being now arrived on the confines of that great and ever memorable field of Bolworth, on which was fought the laſt, and deciſive battle between theſe two long-contending Houſes, it is to be hoped the reader will be pleaſed to accept of a particular account, and plan of the ſpot, on which it was determined.

"Bolworth field, ſays that accurate, and minutely-deſcriptive author, Hutton, p. 68, derives its hiſtorical name from *Bolworth*, a ſhabby market town on the Weſtern borders of Leiceſterſhire, at about one mile to the South-weſt of the town; the former name of the field was *Redmoor Plain*, from the colour of the ſoil; as the meadows, more to the Weſt, are dif-

of Friday, will be right; and lord Verulam's wrong, as may be eaſily ſeen in the following Table:

1485. VERULAM.	1485. HUTTON.
Auguſt 6. Thurſ. Landed.	Auguſt 6. Sun. Landed.
—— 8. Saturday	—— 13. Saturday.
—— 19. Saturday	—— 20. Saturday.
—— 22. Sat. Victory.	—— 22. Mon. Victory.

So that according to the latter computation, which is undoubtedly right, Richard was born on a *Monday*, and was killed on a *Monday*.


Sutton Cheney
Dickens Nook
Camp at Sutton

Being now arrived on the confines of that great and ever memorable field of Boſworth, on which was fought the Laſt, and Deciſive battle between theſe two long-contending Houſes, it is to be hoped the reader will be pleaſed to accept of a particular account, and plan of the ſpot, on which it was determined. CHAP. IV. 1485

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of *Victory* will be right; and lord Verulam's wrong; as may be eaſily ſeen in the following Table:

1485. VERULAM.	1485. HUTTON.
Auguſt. 6. Thurſ. Landed.	Auguſt. 6. Sat. Landed.
—— 8. Saturday	—— 13. Saturday.
—— 15. Saturday	—— 20. Saturday.
—— 22. Sat. Victory.	—— 22. Mon. Victory.

So that according to the latter computation, which is undoubtedly right; Richard was born on *a Monday*, and was killed on *a Monday*.

CHAP. IV. 1485

ſtill called *White moors*, for a ſimilar reaſon: It belongs to Sutton Cheney, an adjacent village on the eaſt; though it receives its name from the town of Boſworth, as being nearer to it: it is rather of an oval form, about two miles long, and one mile broad, and is nearly in a line between Boſworth and Atherſtone: the ſuperficial contents may be 1500 acres, incloſed in a ring fence.

"The ſouth end, where Henry approached, is three miles from Boſworth town; but is now a wood, of four, or five hundred acres, and is bounded by a ſmall rivulet to the ſouth, called the Tweed: about thirty yards above the wood, is a ſpring, called at this day, *King Richard's Well*; a ſmall ſtream of water flows from the Well, down the hill, through the Wood, into the rivulet; but having no regular channel cut for its paſſage, it penetrates through the ſoil, as it can, and forms that moraſs, which Henry is ſaid to have paſſed on his right: Amyon-hill is nearly in the center of the field, and is by much the higheſt ground; the ſummit is two, or three hundred yards from the Well; the hill has a ſteep deſcent on every ſide, but is ſteepeſt towards the North, or the Boſworth ſide.

No

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"No one human being reſides now upon this deſolate field, or near it; as if that place was purpoſely avoided, which had been the ſcene of blood: The remains of two wretched, mud-walled tenements are to be ſeen upon thoſe very places, which were covered by the troops; but the families are fled, and the buildings in ruins." 1485

Having thus far deſcribed the ſpot, where this famous battle is to be fought, let us in the next place muſter the forces, which are to decide this memorable conteſt.

"If we attentively ſurvey the camps, continues the ſame exact writer, p. 74. of the four generals at Boſworth field, they will give us very nearly the number of men each commanded; for though indeed the ſpace of ground does not preciſely declare the numbers, which each of them led, yet it ſeems to declare what proportion they bore to each other: Richard's was by far the moſt extenſive, and with the breaſt-work covered about eighteen acres: Richmond's is the moſt obliterated, being quite over-grown with wood; but according to the beſt obſervations I could make, covered ſix, or ſeven

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1485

ſeven acres: lord Stanley's proceeded along the ſummit of an eminence, in two lines, and was perhaps four acres: and Sir William's, more compact, and more circular, covered about three: So that, from hence we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the king brought into the field 12000 men: Richmond, if we conſider the 2000 French he brought with him; the 2000 that were brought to him by Talbot from Newport; together with the numbers that joined him in his march through Wales, under their powerful leaders, Griffith, Morgan, Herbert, Rice ap Thomas, Blount; and in England, under Hungerford, Boucher, Byron, Savage, Sandford, Digby, Hardwick, and many others, his forces in all could not be leſs than 7000 men: lord Stanley 5000; and Sir William, 3000. In all, the united ſtrength of theſe four parties did not exceed 28000 men; and yet there has not been a battle, ſince that of Haſtings, in 1066, which was 419 years before this of Boſworth, that was of ſuch importance, as this now before us: That of Haſtings brought in William the Conqueror, a Norman, by the death of Harold, who was killed on the field; and this of Boſworth brought in Henry Tudor,

Tudor, a Welchman, by the death of his antagoniſt Richard III, who was likewiſe killed on the field of battle." CHAP. IV. 1485

Our next care ſhall be to follow the ſame accurate gentleman in drawing up, and arranging the troops in order of battle: he tells us then, in p. 78, that " Sir Simon Digby, having penetrated into Richard's camp in the night, as a ſpy, at the utmoſt peril of his life, returned ſafe at day break, and brought back word, that the king was preparing for battle: Immediately Richmond's trumpets ſounded *To Arms:* and thus both armies from this time, which was about four o'clock in the morning, were buſily employed for near ſix hours in getting ready, and marching out of their camps to the ſcene of action, which did not commence till about ten in the morning.

Richard marched out firſt; he left his tents ſtanding; and commanded the troops to rendezvous in Sutton-Cheney field, about the mid way to Amyon-hill: Here he drew up in order of battle; his right extended towards the North end of the field; having Bolworth rather in the rear.

Lord

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" Lord Stanley marched, and halted, as Richard did; ſtill keeping a little to the rear of his left.

" Richard's front line, p. 88, was commanded by John Howard, duke of Norfolk, a faithful veteran, aſſiſted by his ſon Thomas Howard, earl of Surry. the ſecond line was commanded by Richard himſelf; and in the right of this line, Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, led a conſiderable body.

" Richmond's Front, for want of numbers, was ſpread very thin, to ſhew to the greater, advantage; and commanded by John de Vere, earl of Oxford, who had joined Henry in France: the right wing was commanded by Sir Gilbert Talbot: and Sir John Savage the left: Henry himſelf directed the ſecond line; or rather his uncle Jaſper Tudor: and Bernard, a Scotchman, commanded the French.

" Henry, p. 81, though inferior to Richard in numbers, had more horſe: both armies were drawn up exactly alike; each, as we have ſeen, in Two lines; the bow-men in the Front; the bill-men in the Rear: the Horſe formed the wings:

wings: the principal officers were in armour, CHAP. IV. 1485
that is, a coat of mail, and a helmet: every common man carried a ſword; and the cavalry had beſides, a ſpear: the infantry carried ſome a bow, ſome a battle-ax."

Lord Stanley, who had advanced from Atherſtone, poſted his troops on a piece of ground fronting the ſpace between the two armies; and his brother Sir Thomas, at the head of his Three thouſand, drew up, oppoſite to him, on the other ſide of the field: ſo that when the four armies were marſhalled, they formed a hollow ſquare: Richard was ſo accompliſhed a general, that we can hardly ſuppoſe him to have been guilty of an overſight; and therefore we may well be ſurpriſed, to find, that he permitted the two brothers to act in this manner: or at leaſt, if he could not have prevented their taking theſe ſtations, yet ſtill, ſince his army was ſuperior in number to that of Richmond, he might certainly have placed two bodies of men, nearly equal to, and directly oppoſite the two brothers, with orders to remain quiet, if they remained quiet: or elſe to fall upon them, if they offered to make the leaſt attempt to join the enemy, while he himſelf

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ſelf ſhould have given Henry battle: this, it muſt be allowed, would have been a moſt prudential plan; and then we ſhould have had a Battle royal indeed, when no leſs than Six armies would have been engaged at once, on the ſame ſpot.

Before the horrid fray begins, it will be proper to deſcribe here the perſons of the two heroes: "Richard, p. 77, was rather ſmall, that is, about five feet, four inches; but extremely compact: he was dreſſed, p. 82. in the ſame ſuit of armour of poliſhed ſteel, in which he had, fourteen years before, won the battle of Tewkeſbury: we are told, he had his crown upon his head: he had: for it was found on the field, after he was ſlain, much battered and bruiſed: he was not quite thirty three years of age: Henry was but twenty ſeven; and nearly five feet, nine inches, in ſtature; ſlender; of a Saturnine countenance; yellow hair; and grey eyes.

Richard was brave; Henry a coward; Richard better verſed in war; Henry better ſerved in commanders.

"The

"The crown was now to be diſputed, p. 77, CHAP.
by two of the ableſt politicians that ever wore IV.
one; both wiſe; both crafty; equally void of 1485
probity: and if we might be allowed to treat royalty with plainneſs, Richard was an accompliſhed raſcal; and Henry not one jot better; perhaps their chief difference was this, that Richard murdered two men for Henry's one: Such were the two chiefs, who were now going to engage.

"While lord Stanley was forming, p. 90, Richard was by no means ſatisfied with his behaviour, nor aſſured of his fidelity; he therefore ſent Sir Robert Brackenbury with this ſingular, but dreadful meſſage;" "My lord, the king ſalutes you; and commands your immediate attendance with all your forces, or your ſon dies inſtantly:—Struck as he was, he boldly replied; "Should the king ſtain his honour with that ſon's blood, tell him I have more: I will come at my convenience."

He now gave up his ſon for loſt; however, to prevent his execution, if poſſible, he diſpatched Bray, to preſs Richmond to advance with all ſpeed: In the mean time, Brackenbury

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bury returned with Stanley's anſwer, which flamed Richard's wrath ſo highly, that he exclamed, "Tis a falſe pretence; He's a traitor! the boy dies:" and Cateſby was ordered to ſee it done: the block was brought out:—when lord Ferrers of Chartley ventured to remonſtrate, "that it would bring a diſgrace upon their arms, if any blood were ſhed that day, but by the ſword; that ſuch an action would force the father to join the enemy at once; and that young Strange's death could do the cauſe no good". Richard was convinced; and revoked the order: nor had he farther time; for Henry now unfurled his banners; his trumpets blew the march of death; all advanced into the plain; p. 98, the two armies began the bloody ſcene with a diſcharge of arrows; and then inſtantly came to cloſe engagement: Richmond's army fought with ſome ſpirit, knowing they muſt conquer, or die: Richard's men fought, like thoſe who were not hearty in the cauſe: Henry's troops were all volunteers: thoſe of Richard, forced into the ſervice.

"During the firſt onſet, p. 99, the earl of Oxford, obſerving his line rather ſcattered, ordered

dered them to cloſe: this aſtoniſhed the king's forces, who deſiſted from fighting, in dread of ſome maſter-ſtroke in generalſhip. CHAP. IV. 1485

"By cloſing his men, Oxford had ſhortened his line; which Norfolk perceiving, extended his left, with intent to ſurround him: At that moment, lord Stanley joined the right of Richmond; and conſequently faced Richard's left.

"When two ſuch worthleſs characters, as Richard, and Henry, p. 117, contend for that which is not their's, what a pity it is, that they are not left perſonally to decide it between themſelves; and yet the diſpute when ended, could give neither of them any right; without drawing the innocent to the hazard of their lives; but when fathers, brothers, friends, and relations, muſt deſtroy one another in ſuch unrighteous quarrels, the caſe is truly horrid. Sir John Byron, and Sir Gervaſe Clifton, (the latter of whom had been knighted by Richard at the coronation,) were intimate friends and neighbours, being both of them Nottinghamſhire gentlemen; but through the unfortunate fatality of the times, and various intereſts and connexions, Byron fought under the banners of Henry;

CHAP. IV. 1485

Henry; and Clifton under thoſe of Richard; yet this oppoſition proved their friendſhip real: they had mutually exchanged a ſolemn vow, that if either of them was taken, or ſhould happen to fall in battle, the ſurvivor ſhould intercede with the conqueror in behalf of his friend, that the eſtate of the loſer might not be forfeited; but reſtored to his family:—While Clifton was bravely fighting in his troop, he unluckily received a blow from ſome opponent, which overpowered him, and he fell to the ground: Byron immediately obſerving his fall, quitted his ranks, ran to the relief of his ſuffering friend, ſuſtained him as he lay, guarded him with his ſhield, and entreated him to ſurrender: Clifton replied, "All is over with me! I only beg, my deareſt friend, you will remember our mutual obligation: victory is your's: adieu"! the worthy Byron was attempting to renew his promiſe; but ſaw his friend expiring; "Stay, my dear Clifton, ſtay"! but alas! the wound was mortal! he ſighed, he ſunk, he died!

Purpureus veluti cùm flos acciſus aratro,
Langueſcit moriens; laſſovè papavera collo
Demiſere caput, pluviâ cùm forte gravantur!—

Fortunati;

CHAP. IV.

Fortunati ambo, ſi quid mea carmina poſſint,
Nulla dies unquam memori vos eximet ævo!

As when a lovely flow'r, mown by the ſcythe, 1485
Soon fades in death; or poppies bow their necks,
And droop their heads, when they're ſurcharged
[with rain!
Oh happy pair! if aught my verſe avails,
No time ſhall e'er your memory eraze!

Æ. IX. 435.

"It was now paſt eleven, p. 107, and the battle had continued about an hour, without much advantage on either ſide; except that Richard had by this time loſt two of his principal officers, Norfolk, and Surry; and lord Stanley and his brother had declared for his adverſary:—Things were in this ſituation, when a ſcout came up full ſpeed, and informed the king, that Richmond was poſted behind the hill, with but a few attendents: Richard, fired at the news, gallopped up to the aſcent; and there the perſon of Henry was pointed out to him; for he did not know him, having never ſeen him ‡.

As

‡ Hume ſuppoſes that Richard knew the earl perſonally; for he ſays, "the intrepid tyrant, ſenſible of his deſperate ſituation,

CHAP. IV.

1485 As ſoon as he diſcerned him, he called out, "I ſee the man;" and immediately clapping ſpurs to his horſe, exclamed, "Let all true knights follow".

"Though Richard took his lance, p. 110, he preſently threw it down, and truſted to his ſword: his onſet was ſo furious, that he killed Sir William Brandon, Henry's ſtandard bearer at one ſtroke, ſnatched the ſtandard, and with a vengeance hurled it to the ground ‡, he inſtantly attacked the powerful Sir John Cheney, of gigantic ſize, and unhorſed him in a moment, becauſe he was in the way:—Theſe are not the acts of a little crooked fellow, with a ſhrivelled arm!—thus the ſpirit of the hero growing into the fury of a madman, he thought of nothing but cutting his way to Henry.

"If

ſituation, caſt his eyes around the field, and deſcrying his rival at no great diſtance, he drove againſt him with fury."—All which ſounds very well; but ſeems to be highly improbable; I mean, that Richard ſhould have known Richmond by ſight:—it is poſſible; but ſcarce probable; for we may be ſure they never were in company together.

‡ This was a red Dragon upon a green and white ſilk, the enſign of Cadwallador, the laſt of the Britiſh kings, and paternal anceſtor to Henry.

"If Henry moved at all, p. 111, it was backwards, for he had no great inclination to encounter ſuch an impetuous adverſary §: he therefore very prudently ſuffered his attendents to interfere, and let them thicken about him; but never ſhewed the leaſt deſire of advancing to attack him; for the ferocity of Richard would have terrified a better man, than Henry:—But what can the valour of a ſingle arm avail againſt a hoſt of foes! he fought as it were ſingle, and alone, or attended but by few, in the center of his enemies: his friends were moſt of them killed; himſelf becoming every moment leſs deſperate, as he grew the more faint; and yet even now, ſcarce any one dared approach him within ſword's length: Richmond's attendents however perceiving now, that they ſhould ſoon CHAP. IV. 1485

§ "Hume, on the contrary, tells us, that Richmond declined not the combat:"—but we can hardly ſuppoſe, that he would willingly have encountered ſuch a deſperate hero as Richard, at any time, much leſs now, when he ſaw him exaſperated to fury and madneſs: it is much more natural to imagine, that as Richard was all violence, Richmond was all coolneſs and moderation; and deliberately waited to receive his adverſary, if he ſhould be able to cut his way to m.

CHAP. IV. 1485

ſoon have him in their power, came crouding thick about him; and at laſt, by dint of numbers, Richard fell; more a victim to his own raſhneſs, than the valour of his enemies; for had he kept his ſtation, and fought with the coolneſs of a general, with all his troops about him, inſtead of ruſhing into the midſt of his enemies, he might have gained the day: but perhaps finding the fortune of the battle turning againſt him, he was reſolved to take this opportunity of quickly ſaving his crown, or finding a glorious death.

" Thus fell Richard III. p. 121, one of the greateſt heroes, and one of the moſt diſhoneſt men, recorded in modern hiſtory: And thus ended the conteſt between the two Houſes of York and Lancaſter, which had now laſted above Thirty years; and what is very remarkable, the very firſt man, who fell in this direful cauſe, was *Richard* earl of Cambridge; and ſhortly after him, his ſon *Richard* duke of York; and now laſt of all, his ſon *Richard* the *Third*.

" From the time that Richad gallopped out of the right flank, p. 124, to the time that he fell,

fell, could not be more than fifteen minutes: At the death of the king, all oppoſition ceaſed, p. 127, part of his troops remained in the field; but a greater part fled different ways; chiefly towards Stoke Golden, leaving Sutton-Cheney, and Dicken's nook, near a mile on the left, and were perſued with ſlaughter by the victors: Authors differ exceedingly with regard to the number of the ſlain; and perhaps no one can determine: but ſince only the front lines were engaged; and ſince neither ſide ſhifted their ground, nor fought with remarkable vigour; we may be inclined to think, that the numbers were nearly equal, during the battle, which laſted not long; and as Henry is ſaid to have loſt about a hundred, Richard perhaps did not loſe many more; but the greateſt ſlaughter muſt have been in the perſuit, which continued two miles; and for about forty or fifty minutes; this may probably increaſe the number to about nine hundred, or a thouſand ‡ men.

CHAP. IV. 1485

On

‡ What authority Hume had for aſſerting that "there fell in this battle about *Four thouſand* of the *vanquiſhed*:—I know not. Rapin ſays only two thouſand; and Hall, few above one thouſand.

CHAP. IV. 1485

On the ſide of the conquered, beſides Richard himſelf, there fell the duke of Norfolk, who is ſaid to have been forewarned of the intention of Northumberland, and the two Stanleys, by a diſtitch fixed on the gate of the houſe, in which he lodged at Leiceſter, which ran thus,

Jacky of Norfolk be not too bold;
For Dicken thy maſter's bought and ſold.

the lord Ferrers of Chartley, Sir Richard Radcliff, Sir Robert Brackenbury, Sir Gervaſe Clifton, and ſeveral perſons of diſtinction were likewiſe killed: the earl of Surry, ſon to the duke of Norfolk, was taken priſoner, and committed to the Tower, but was ſoon after releaſed.

The earl of Northumberland, and ſome other adherents of Richard, were not only indulged with a pardon, but were admitted into favor by Richmond: others had the good fortune to eſcape: but Cateſby, the principal confident, and wicked miniſter of this moſt wicked king; that very Cateſby, who had ſo baſely betrayed the lord Haſtings, having fallen into the hands of

of the victors, was executed at Leiceſter, two days after the battle, together with ſome others of the ſame ſtamp, who had been the chief inſtruments of the tyranny and oppreſſion of Richard's reign. CHAP. IV. 1485

The account of this ever memorable battle cannot be cloſed in a better manner, than in Hutton's own words, p. 122, where he ſays, "While we ſurvey this awful field, the firſt in conſequence in the whole Iſland, that of the battle of Haſtings in Suſſex alone excepted, we may conſider it as Engliſh claſſic ground: Here contemplation brings in review important deeds, and their more important effects: To this field Richard brought an aching heart, and a faithleſs army; (—faithleſs through his own fault;) Here he loſt both, and was declared a traitor, becauſe unfortunate §; (as Henry himſelf would have been, had he proved unſucceſsful:) Richmond approached it doubtful whether he ſhould find a throne, or a block;

§ But ſtill the misfortune of Richard does not prove him to have been a wicked king; nor the ſucceſs of Henry, that he was a righteous monarch; it is their actions alone tha prove them good, or bad; not their ſucceſs in battle.

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whether he ſhould put on the ermine, or a ſhrowd; for in all the quarrels between theſe
1485 two families, the ax, or the halter, finiſhed what the ſword began: Here Norfolk fell, in a ſenſe of gratitude to that prince, who had raiſed him to greatneſs: And the brave Surry was within a hair's breadth of loſing that life, which afterwards repleniſhed both houſes of parliament: Here Brandon ſunk under the weight of Richard's ſword: and Sir William Stanley, after the battle, ſet the crown on Henry's head, by whom he afterwards loſt his own: Oxford, from having been a diſconſolate priſoner, recovered the antient patrimony of his houſe: and lord Stanley, while betraying his maſter, could have nothing in view, but victory, or the ax; nay deſtruction hung over the Stanley family by a very ſlender thread: On this ſpot Richard owed his ruin to his raſhneſs; and that raſhneſs prevented the ruin of the Stanleys: Here a friendſhip was diſplayed between Byron and Clifton, which is no where ſurpaſſed in hiſtory, either antient or modern: Here Conyers and Clarendon ſuffered for the moſt generous act: And here the fate of a mighty nation was determined."

Immediately

Immediately after the action, the earl of Richmond fell on his knees in the open field, and offered up his humble and grateful acknowledgements to the Almighty, for the bleſſing he had vouchſafed to his arms: then, riding up to an eminence, he there commended the ſoldiers for their brave and gallant behaviour; and thanked the officers for their active and ſpirited conduct; and promiſed to reward them all, according to their ranks in the army. CHAP. IV. 1485

The crown of Richard having been found among the ſpoils of the field, was, by the lord Stanley, placed upon the head of Henry, who was ſaluted King by the whole army; and from that moment he bore the title, and exerciſed the authority of ſovereign.

As for the body of Richard, it was found on the field of battle, ſtript quite naked, peirced with many a ghaſtly wound, and rolled in blood and dirt; it was then thrown by Blanch Sanglier, a perſuivant at arms, over a horſe's back, with the arms on one ſide, and the legs on the other; in which ignominious manner it was carried to Leiceſter; where, after it had been expoſed to public view for the ſpace of two days

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days, and treated with every mark of inſult and contempt, it was buried in the abby church in a private manner: though Henry, from a regard to the honor of his family, cauſed a tomb of variegated marble, adorned with his ſtatue in alabaſter to be erected over his grave: This monument remained intire, till the diſſolution of the monaſteries, in the reign of Henry VIII; when it was mingled with the rubbiſh of the abby: ſince which time, his grave, being overgrown with briars and thorns, is become extremely obſcure, and can hardly be diſcovered: the ſtone coffin, in which his body was laid, was afterwards, and for ſome time, converted into a drinking trough for horſes, at the White horſe inn, in Gallow-tree-gate in Leiceſter §.

Thus periſhed Richard, the Third of that name, when he wanted only ſix weeks of being Thirty

§ I took a journey, ſays Hutton, p. 143, to Leiceſter in 1758, to ſee this trough, which had been the repoſitory of one of the moſt ſingular bodies that ever exiſted; but found, that it had not withſtood the ravages of time: the beſt intelligence that I could obtain, was, that it had been deſtroyed about the latter end of the reign of George the Firſt; and ſome of the pieces were placed as ſteps into a cellar, at the ſame inn, where it had ſerved as a trough.

Thirty Three years of Age: one of the braveſt, but moſt odious and deteſtable tyrants, that ever diſgraced the Engliſh throne: his ſtature, as we have obſerved before, was but ſmall; and one of his ſhoulders was rather higher than the other; from whence he acquired the ſurname of Crookback ‡. CHAP. IV. 1485

But the members of his body could not have been more deformed than the diſpoſitions of his mind: ambition, as rank a weed as any in the human heart, ſeems to have been the ruling paſſion of his ſoul; to the gratification of which he ſacrificed every virtue, private, public, ſocial, and divine; his whole conduct was dark, ſilent, ſullen, and reſerved; he was ſo much maſter of diſſimulation, that it was almoſt impoſſible to dive into his real ſentiments, when he wanted to conceal his deſigns: Falſe, treacherous, and ungrateful, he never ſcrupled to violate the moſt ſacred ties of conſcience and religion, whenever he found it conducive to his intereſt and advantage: Being by nature ſtern, cruel, and revengful, he waded through ſeas of

‡ Dexter enim humerus ſuperior erat, ſiniſterque inferior.

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of blood to the attainment of that crown, which he was ſo unworthy to wear, and which he did wear but for ſo ſhort a ſpace of time: There are very few inſtances on record, of a military character riſing to fame with greater rapidity, than that of Richard; though in the eyes of the law indeed he might be deemed but an infant, for he fought the battles both of Barnet, and of Tewkeſbury before he was full Nineteen, yet in the field he was a hero; for he won them both in three weeks, commanded the van of both; had been greatly inſtrumental in gaining that of Barnet; and compleatly won that of Tewkeſbury.

The murders of Henry VI, and his ſon, both of whom are generally believed to have fallen by his hand, or at leaſt by his order; the untimely fate of his elder brother George, duke of Clarence, which undoubtedly was owing to his artful intrigues, and baſe inſinuations; the artful manner of his getting both his young nephews into his power; the precipitate murder of lord Haſtings in the Tower; and of the earl of Rivers, and Sir Richard Gray in the caſtle of Pontfract, who were ſacrificed merely to his ambition and revenge; the unhappy

unhappy end of his nephews; the falſe and villainous aſperſions on the character of his own mother, in baſtardizing his two brothers, and his two nephews, after he had murdered them; the ungrateful, and ungenerous treatment, which he ſhewed to the duke of Buckingham; and ſuſpicious manner, in which he is ſuppoſed to have made away with his own wife; and laſtly, after her death, his ſtrange attempt to marry his own niece, do all of them compoſe ſuch a catalogue of guilt, horror, and iniquity, as can hardly be ſuppoſed to have entered into the heart of any one man: they juſtly expoſed him to the hatred and reſentment of all his contemporaries, and have rendered his name the object of univerſal deteſtation to all ſucceeding ages †.

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† According to Rymer's Fœdera, Richard left one natural ſon, a minor, whom on the 11th of March he had appointed governor of Calais, Guiſnes, and all the marches of Picardy, belonging to the Engliſh; in which patent he is ſtiled John of Gloceſter: And the laſt act of his life was the removal of the Great Seal from the biſhop of Lincoln, and the grant of it to Thomas Barowe, maſter of the Rolls, dated July 24; and confirmed Auguſt the 1ſt, 1485; which was but juſt three weeks before he was killed at the battle of Boſworth.

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